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THE UNWRITTEN GOSPEL

ANA AND AGRAPHA OF JESUS

BY

RODERIC DUNKERLEY

B.A., B.D.

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To

FATHER AND MOTHER

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF

UNFAILING ENCOURAGEMENT

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION— PAGE

I. Preliminary Remarks 9
II. Statement of Theme 11
III. Survey of Material 13
IV. Principles of Selection 15
V. Literature of the Subject 17
VI. Arrangement, Title, Object 20
VII. Sundry Details 22

CHAPTER

I. Of Mary's Godly Home and of the Nativity . 25
II. Of the Boyhood of Jesus, with its Work and its Play 29
III. Of the Years of Preparation, during which the Presence and the Will of God became real to Him 32
IV. Of John's Baptism at the Jordan and the Crisis in the Life of Jesus 37
V. Of how He began to proclaim the Good News, and of those whom He called to follow and to help Him 42
VI. Of the long-sought Kingdom, its heavenly and heart-enriching Treasure, and the Freedom from the Ways of the World that is necessary if Men would possess it 47
VII. Of the Brotherly Love which the Father would have His Children feel and show One to Another 57
VIII. Of the Way of Prayer—a little Group of helpful Sayings 66
IX. Of how Jesus went about doing Good . . 72
X. Of a certain kindly Deed, teaching a Lesson in Kindness 79
XI. Of sundry Questions and Incidents . . . 82

CHAPTER		PAGE
XII.	Of Worldliness and its Woes, and of the Path Pilgrims should tread	87
XIII.	Of a Roadside Incident, involving a Humble Robber and a Proud Apostle	93
XIV.	Of several Conversations between Jesus and His Disciples	96
XV.	Of Jesus telling them about His Mission, and that they also were to serve Others in Holy Things, and so be truly blessed	105
XVI.	Of a Visit to the Temple, and a Conversation there with a Priest concerning True and False Purity	113
XVII.	Of the coming of the Kingdom, when God's Will shall be done everywhere upon the Earth	118
XVIII.	Of the Other Rich Man	124
XIX.	Of Wealth and Poverty	129
XX.	Of Incidents at Jericho and Jerusalem	138
XXI.	Of His Teaching in Parables regarding the Prevalence of Evil and the Providence of God	143
XXII.	Of Jesus condemning the False Religion of the Jewish Leaders	147
XXIII.	Of the Sorrow Jesus felt on their Account and of His Prayers for them	151
XXIV.	Of the coming Trials through which His Followers would have to pass, but that the City of God remaineth	160
XXV.	Of the strange Holy Presence that would ever abide with them if they but obeyed His Commands	168
XXVI.	Of their Last Hours together and of the Betrayer	176
XXVII.	Of the Trial and how Jesus suffered on the Cross	180
XXVIII.	Of what happened after His Death	189
XXIX.	Of the Women at the Tomb and the Appearance of Jesus to James and to His Disciples	193
XXX.	Of the World-wide Mission upon which He sent them	199
	Indices—	
	(1) Parallel Passages in the Gospels	205
	(2) Modern Theological Writers Cited	207

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INTRODUCTION

I

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The modern historical study of the Bible and its origin needs little defence now-a-days. It is rather the advocates of the "dictation" doctrine—that the whole book is verbally inspired from cover to cover—who are upon their trial to-day. It is difficult to understand how such a view can be held if the facts have really been pondered. And again, while we can comprehend an Arab in the desert thinking thus of his Koran, it is a mystery indeed how one can stand in the liberty wherewith Christ has set us free and yet be entangled still in this bondage to the letter.

Apart from other considerations the following facts ought to give such an one (if such there still be) pause: the original writings made by the various writers have certainly all been lost, the extant copies of their works differ in many thousands of details from each other, translations into other languages vary considerably and in some places can be proved faulty, and many words and passages are obviously susceptible of different explanations. A being who chose to communicate in such a mechanical way as is suggested would surely safeguard his revelation at all these vital points. In fact, the idea of an infallible book requires logically as its supplement either that the original manuscripts should be miraculously preserved (with adequate comment), or that there should also be an infallible Church, authoritatively maintaining the original text and dogmatically interpreting it.

Both into the making of the original documents, then, and into their transmission the human factor has entered. Those

who wrote no doubt gathered their material as skilfully as they could, and those who came after them handed it on with care. But neither class was freed from human frailty in their task. That is the unmistakable meaning of the facts that disclose themselves to us when we examine the ancient manuscripts, the translations that have been made from them, and the broad hints that they give of the earlier sources upon which they drew.

It is only at first that such considerations seem to leave no room for inspiration. Presently we come to feel that a deeper and truer conception of God's influence is involved in it. We believe, not that He coerces and over-rides and dictates, but that He breathes upon the willing soul, enlightening the mind, enriching the emotions, empowering the will. To acknowledge that a human element has entered into the making of the Bible is not to deny the divine.

This reminds us that while a critical mind is needed for such studies, it is not the only requisite. There is a kinship of the Spirit, and the more we ourselves enter into such experience the more likely are we to be able to discern how far it has been shared by those whose writings we examine. The more truly we live in fellowship with God, the more surely shall we detect His presence elsewhere. "The spirit of Christ within the heart of the disciple has a right to form judgment upon alleged words and acts of Christ as presented in the Gospel records," it has been well said.[1] We may frequently err in our judgment; we shall certainly differ much on many points. But to endeavour in this way—by scientific inquiry and spiritual insight combined—to estimate the comparative value of different passages in the Bible is not irreverent; rather it is a mark of loyalty to the Word of God—the living Word, who still whispers within the obedient heart. And as we advance in such study we shall discover that we gain much more than we might seem to lose by a recognition of these things.

[1] W. M. Pryke in the *Pilgrim*, April, 1924.

II

STATEMENT OF THEME

Now, confining ourselves to the Gospels, there is one point that does not seem to me to have been sufficiently appreciated. I have already implied that there may be imperfections in the story as it has come down to us. Must we not also feel that there were certainly things left out of it which might have been included? Much that Jesus said and did, of course, was never recorded and is quite irrecoverable, but were there not probably other things remembered and written down which our Gospel writers failed for one reason or another to incorporate in their books? It can hardly be doubted that there were such, and that limitations of space or of purpose caused regrettable omissions of available matter.

There are several hints in the New Testament which point in this direction. It is a fairly assured result of scholarship that the writers of the first and third Gospels used not only Mark but another source (commonly called Q) as they wrote; there is no certainty that they together included it all, however, and it is perfectly possible that later writers may have drawn upon it also and preserved some of the omitted sections. Further, the opening words of Luke imply a considerable literary activity in early days, the full product of which is not likely to have found its way into that or the other Gospels. Similarly, the closing words of the fourth Gospel suggest, as one writer has put it, "the consciousness of the end of the first century that the known material was not exhausted in known writings." [1] Again, we have at Acts i. 5, xx. 35, sayings of Jesus not recorded in the Gospels, and echoes elsewhere in the New Testament of others (1 Thess. iv. 15–17; Jas. i. 12, etc.).

But further, in the course of textual and other studies, one constantly comes upon traces of such interesting and valuable material. For example, the famous editors of the New Testament, Westcott and Hort, bracket the great intercession from the cross (Luke xxiii. 34) as not properly belonging to the

[1] Blomfield Jackson's *Twenty-five Agrapha*, p. 12.

Gospel—" We cannot doubt that it comes from an extraneous source," they say—and most scholars agree that the evidence points to that conclusion. But Westcott and Hort are equally confident that this extraneous source was trustworthy and that the saying is authentic—" Few verses bear in themselves a surer witness to the truth of what they record." So, too, when we examine the writings of Justin Martyr (who died about A.D. 165), it is very difficult to resist Sanday's verdict that in all probability he made use " either mediately or immediately of our Gospels, but that he did not assign to them an exclusive authority, and that he probably made use along with them of other documents no longer extant."[1]

When therefore one finds that there is a considerable amount of extra-canonical matter which claims to tell of the life and teaching of Jesus, it is clearly necessary to examine it carefully in precisely the way indicated above, scientific criticism going hand-in-hand with spiritual alertness. One must consider it in its historical setting and test it by the Portrait of Jesus as it has formed in one's mind from the study of the Gospels and from personal experience. In view of what one has come to believe about His character and conduct, which of these other facts and reputed sayings can one feel may possibly either be true or at least enshrine some authentic element ?

Pondering these things recently, it came rather forcibly to me that we have here a most valuable possession. When we gather the material and gauge it in the way suggested, parts of it coalesce quite naturally and together make a picture appreciably like that with which we are already familiar. Such a sifting and grouping of excerpts would of course be very differently made by others, but a real value may conceivably attach to one modest attempt. And for my own part I feel like one who, turning over forgotten papers in a long-neglected box, has come upon an old and faded drawing of a dear friend ; it cannot bear comparison with those lovely photographs of Him that we rightly cherish as our most sacred treasures, but it too will have its place in our hearts and will help to make His unseen presence real to us.

[1] *The Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 117.

The possibility that some of these "many other things" may have come down to us and that we may find genuine reminiscences of Jesus in uncanonical writings has often been recognised by scholars. We will make a brief review of the literature of the subject presently. But meanwhile it may be remarked that there have been few references to this possibility in books written for the religious public. Farrar in his *Life of Christ* made use of one or two possible "sayings of Jesus," and there were a few sermons preached on those unearthed in Egypt some years ago. But for all practical purposes the idea of any possible knowledge of the Jesus of history coming to us from sources outside the Bible has been neglected. While therefore I trust this collection will not be without some interest to scholars, it is primarily for a wider circle that it is written, and this fact will account for certain features of its arrangement and method.

III

SURVEY OF MATERIAL

THE extracts gathered here may be usefully grouped thus:

1. Those from apocryphal books.
2. Those from patristic writers.
3. Those from manuscripts of the Gospels.
4. Those from papyrus fragments.
5. Those from Moslem works.
6. Those from other sources.

It will be observed that no use is made of the sayings referred to above (Acts xx. 35, etc.) found elsewhere in the New Testament than the Gospels. These are often included in studies of this subject, but my purpose is to deal with uncanonical matter only.

Of the apocryphal Gospels, which are many and long, we touch the merest fringe. Studied as a whole they have a certain antiquarian interest, which is quite outside our scope; they are only laid under obligation here when occasionally it appears possible that they preserve true details drawn from

earlier tradition. These will be found almost exclusively in the opening and closing parts of the story—the interesting fragment of the *Gospel of Peter* contributing more than any other.

The statements of Early Church writers about Jesus and the words of His given by them which are not in our Gospels are numerous but of varying importance. Sometimes the divergence from the canonical records is slight and the question has to be considered whether it may not be due merely to inaccurate quotation; this point is dealt with somewhat below. Sometimes another source than our Gospels is definitely referred to, as for example the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*—a lost work highly thought of by several writers and quite possibly a contemporary of the four. Some passages are mentioned but once, others on several occasions, whilst one is found sixty-nine times!

As regards the manuscripts of the Gospels, while the number of variations found in them is immense, few are of much importance. Several are included here, especially from the famous Codex Bezae now in the Cambridge University Library, which is commonly thought to have received some early and authentic interpolations. Of course, in some cases there is a variety of evidence in support of a reading, so that a passage may belong to this class and to the previous one also. Several familiar incidents from the Gospels will be found here, which are included in order to bring out the force of some interesting variant and to show the fresh light that it throws upon the story.

The spade of the excavator has contributed to our store of material, especially through those fascinating fragments of papyrus found at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt in 1897 and subsequently; these have given us not only several sayings, but at least one narrative of real importance. They also tantalise by showing clearly that much similar matter has been lost—perhaps irrecoverably. Special problems confront us in studying this class of extract in consequence of the necessity for reconstructing the text, the papyrus in some cases being badly mutilated, and there is often a considerable measure of doubt attaching to these reconstructions. At the same time we have already

gained greater "treasures in Egypt" than those refused by Moses long ago!

That quite a number of references to Jesus have been discovered embedded in various Mohammedan writings comes no doubt as a surprise to those who study this subject for the first time. Very few of these are in the Koran; they are found mainly in early ascetic writers of Islam, who may have culled them from primitive Christian books no longer extant. But the considerations raised at the end of the next section enter largely into the matter, and many of the passages of this kind included here have undoubtedly less claim on us than much of the rest of our material. One of the most remarkable was discovered by a Christian missionary inscribed on the gateway of a mosque in India.[1] Some of these Moslem sayings have never appeared before in English.

A few extracts remain which it is not easy to classify. These are some passages from Josephus the famous Jewish historian, one or two small excerpts from Gnostic works, and some interesting sayings found in certain Old English homilies, hitherto neglected by writers on this subject.

No notice is taken here of what are apparently modern forgeries, such as *The Unknown Life of Christ*, by Nicholas Notovitch, and a more recent German work which claims to be a translation of a primitive Coptic narrative regarding the sojourn of Jesus in Egypt as a boy.[2]

IV

PRINCIPLES OF SELECTION

It has already been implied that this is not by any means a complete collection of the available extra-canonical matter. It is, however, an attempt to gather together everything of any real value, the two tests which I have endeavoured to apply being —in line with the considerations mentioned above—that there should be a real harmony of spirit and a reasonable possibility of genuineness. This last phrase, of course, suggests the measure of uncertainty that enters into such a study and it

[1] See p. 89. [2] See *Texte und Untersuchungen*, vol. 44.

must be frankly acknowledged; but it should be remembered that on the purely historical side of the inquiry into the beginnings of Christianity we have continually to weigh probabilities rather than to affirm unquestionable facts.

The difficulty of estimating whether or not a passage should be regarded as authentic may be illustrated by a reference to the famous anecdote of the Sabbath-worker [1]; it is found as an interpolation at Luke vi. 5 in one MS. only (Codex Bezae of the sixth century), and there are no allusions to it in ancient literature, yet many scholars are of opinion that in all probability it narrates a true incident. It is perfectly reasonable to hold that the writer of that MS. was in touch with a sound tradition—it is not impossible that he may even have had a first-century diary or record before him as he wrote. But this fact should make us pause before dogmatically ruling out as not genuine anything which seems spiritually sound but which appears to be but poorly authenticated; there are so many ways in which good evidence for it may have been destroyed.

It is quite possible that some extracts have been included here which are mere variants of the canonical accounts due to inaccurate memory or intentional paraphrase; we know that such loose quotation did take place in early days, when it was more difficult to verify references, and at the same time the importance of exact citation was less considered. But I feel confident that some passages which may have this appearance are really due to independent tradition, being either variant reports of the same sayings and events as are recorded in the Gospels or accounts of similar teaching and incidents on different occasions; in either case they are of interest and may be of value.

Again, it may be regarded as certain that a number of these extracts do not preserve accurately the very words of Jesus; if authentic at all they come to us after a process of transmission which has left its mark upon them. They may incorporate some true reminiscence, but it has been oddly handled by those who have passed it on. They yield us glimpses, but as through a glass, darkly. The water is still

[1] See p. 72.

drinkable, but it has been muddied by the channels through which it has come.

Yet even if we lack confidence altogether in the authenticity of some sayings or in the historicity of some narratives, that does not mean that they are necessarily out of place in such a study as this. An impressionist drawing may exaggerate and yet be extraordinarily true to life. It has been said that a man's character can be known from the kind of stories told about him even though the incidents never actually happened, and a biographer need not rigidly exclude all such from his pages. If by reverent use of the imagination the mind of Christ is shown to us in some fresh guise, surely we may gratefully accept the tribute and profit by its teaching. The early mystics of Islam or their instructors seem to have delighted in this sort of spiritual portraiture. And we should remember that according to views commonly held to-day the fourth Gospel is not free from it. Burkitt says: "We shall never do justice to this Gospel, so long as we try to treat it as a narrative of events that were seen and heard of men." [1]

I believe, then, that there is a reasonable likelihood that much or most of what is gathered here has a basis in historic fact; but I regard the other side of the matter as the more important and have taken pains not to include anything that does not appear to accord well with the thought of Jesus as we know it through the Gospel pages.

V

LITERATURE OF THE SUBJECT

It might be thought that a subject of such surpassing interest would have been exhaustively investigated and generally studied; this is not so, however, the tenacious influence of the older view of inspiration being doubtless largely responsible. If the Bible is a complete and final revelation we obviously cannot imagine anything of value having been left out.

The apocryphal Gospels have, of course, frequently been published and commented upon, but almost solely to exhibit

[1] *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, p. 235.

the contrast with the canonical story; as they are so slightly used here their literature need not be referred to, save just to mention M. R. James' recent comprehensive work, *The Apocryphal New Testament.*

The first collections of sayings attributed to Jesus but not found in the Bible appear to have been those of Grabe (1698), Fabricius (1703), and Jones (1726). Körner (1776) applied the name "agrapha" (literally "unwritten things") to such sayings, and it has been generally adopted. Short lists of agrapha were included in Hofmann's *Das Leben Jesu* (1851), Bunsen's *Christianity and Mankind* (1854), Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels* (1860), Farrar's *Life of Christ* (1874), Ellicott's *New Testament Commentary* (1878), and Schaff's *History of the Christian Church* (1882). The earliest book entirely devoted to the subject, apart from Körner's pamphlet, appears to have been Dodd's *Sayings ascribed to Our Lord* (1874), but the first considerable work was Resch's *Agrapha* (1889), in which he launched his theory that about seventy-five of these scattered sayings can be accepted as genuine and that they are relics of a lost and very early Gospel. This he regarded as also a primary source of the Synoptics, and he later on (1898) made a hypothetical reconstruction of it. His view did not find general acceptance and was freely criticised by Ropes in *Die Sprüche Jesu* (1896) and others, the authenticity of more than about a score of sayings being generally considered very doubtful. Ropes' article in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (1904) may be taken as typical of the views of cautious scholarship on the question.

Meanwhile, of course, there were occasional references to the subject in various works dealing with textual and other matters. As an interesting example we may quote Rendel Harris' words in *The Diatessaron of Tatian* (1890): "Few subjects are of greater interest in connection with the Gospels than the study of the additional matter which has attached to them in their process of transmission or of the subtracted matter which may have been separated from them and discarded. Especially in connection with the sayings and doings of Our Lord, the so-called apocryphal sentences, many

of which were current in copies of the New Testament, form a collection of such importance both for His own teaching and for the knowledge of the opinions of early schools of Christian thought, that they ought certainly to be attached to the authorised scriptures in the form of an appendix." [1]

The papyrus discoveries at Oxyrhynchus by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt aroused wide-spread interest and a voluminous literature has gathered round them, with which I cannot deal here. It must suffice to say that while the trend of opinion amongst scholars has been against accepting them as genuine in their present form, there is not unanimity even upon that point. We have no reason to suppose, for instance, that J. H. Moulton changed his early judgment: "That He really uttered the sayings ascribed to Him in this fragment I cannot doubt for a moment. They are all in complete accord with His teaching, and they have just that vivid, brief, pictorial, parabolic style which no one ever could imitate, and which we must instinctively recognise as coming to us from the lips of Him who spake as never man spake." [2]

Perhaps in consequence, or partly so, of these discoveries, a measure of renewed interest in the larger subject was apparent. Three small but interesting works appeared in English—Blomfield Jackson's *Twenty-five Agrapha* (1900), Griffinhoofe's *The Unwritten Sayings of Christ* (1903), and David Smith's *Unwritten Sayings of Our Lord* (1913). In his revised edition (1906) Resch made a most extensive survey of the whole field. Modern Bible dictionaries usually include articles on the question, and a very brief list of agrapha is given by James in the book mentioned above. In America, several books appeared by Bernhard Pick, of which the last was *Paralipomena: Remains of Gospels and Sayings of Christ* (1908) —a useful gathering of material.

While Resch's theory of the common origin of many of the agrapha hardly commends itself, it does seem possible and even probable that a larger part of the traditional matter relating to Jesus may be soundly based than has usually been recognised. Caution is necessary, of course, in testing it, but so is imagination, and this seems to me to have been lacking in

[1] P. 27. [2] *A Neglected Sacrament*, p. 81.

most studies of the subject. There has, for example, been very little appreciation of the likelihood that manuscript variants and other traditions may be due to the influence of eye-witnesses. We may usefully quote Moulton again here: "When we think of those three years which were so crowded with teaching, whereof a mere fraction is preserved for us in the Gospels, and think, moreover, how many thousands heard the great Teacher speak, and passed on to their children and grandchildren the well-remembered sayings which fastened on their memory, our wonder must surely be that so few traditional words of Jesus have come down to us."[1] Such considerations do not make for definiteness and precise conclusions, it is true, but scientific accuracy is less possible in such matters than we sometimes seem to imagine—and less desirable. A drawing may be truer to life than a photograph.

One other point only need be mentioned here. Though there had been some reference by Jones, Hofmann and others to sayings of Jesus in Moslem writings, the first extensive collection of them was Margoliouth's in the *Expository Times* (1893–4), reproduced in part by Ropes in the article mentioned above. Very little notice was taken of it, however, and Zwemer in *The Moslem Christ* (1912) largely ignored this material. The fullest collection is that of Asin (1915), who promises also a further large instalment shortly. This work received a favourable notice in the *Expositor* (August 1918) from Rendel Harris and is undoubtedly of considerable value.

VI

ARRANGEMENT, TITLE, OBJECT

THERE are several distinctive features about this present work, in contrast to all those just referred to. First of all, it brings under one survey a wider range of material; studies of the agrapha and the apocryphal Gospels have commonly been kept separate, while even Resch omits altogether the Moslem sayings. As mentioned above, too, certain sayings included here have not previously had a place in any such study.[2] Then

[1] Loc. cit.

[2] See below, p. 70.

again, as already indicated, a careful process of selection has been adopted and nothing has been used which does not appear to me to have the spirit of Jesus; there is no attempt to make the collection comprehensive and the rejected material must be sought elsewhere. And lastly, the passages are gathered into groups representing different periods of the life of Jesus or aspects of His ministry, and are threaded together by descriptive comment in such a way as to tell a consecutive story.

This last point is, of course, open to criticism from various sides, but especially by those who would have preferred a strictly historical grouping of matter. I would remind them, however, that there are bigger questions than those of date and origin. It has been well said, "Art may seize the essence of persons and movements no less truly, and certainly far more vitally, than a scientific generalisation unifies a chaos of phenomena."[1] And again, "The function of art is to seize the vital elements and combine them so that the product lives."[2] Whether this attempt to unite odds and ends into one narrative is in any degree artistic—whether the product lives—it is for others to judge. But this has been my inspiration and desire, while delving amongst the debris of footnotes, margins, appendices and such-like—that I might gain some new glimpse of Jesus and rescue it for everyday use.

This will go far to explain and justify the use of the word "Gospel" in our title. It suggests the hope that this book may bring to some, from distant lands and unexpected quarters, the old message of God's goodness in the gift of Jesus Christ. Many to-day are craving the water of life and not finding it, perhaps partly because the path to the wells has become so overgrown and tangled. Perchance that word of long ago may here be again fulfilled: "As cold waters to a thirsty soul, so is good news from a far country."

As stated above, the meaning of "agrapha" is "unwritten things"; it has often seemed rather an unsuitable name for these uncanonical sayings, since they have all been found written somewhere or other. To call a collection of such items *The Unwritten Gospel*, however, appears not inapt, for it

[1] Zangwill, *Dreamers of the Ghetto*, p. vii.
[2] Longinus, as cited by T. R. Glover, *The Pilgrim*, p. 152.

is at least in a measure the kind of " extra " Gospel that might have been compiled but was not.

While the object of this effort, then, is one of practical helpfulness, a secondary value may well attach to it if it assists some to cherish the idea that new information may be discovered in the future regarding Christ and the Church, and if it therefore saves them from the shock of surprise should this happen. It may happen either by earlier and more accurate manuscripts of existing books being found or by unknown or partially known writings coming to light. Both these are very real possibilities, the appreciation of which enters into modern Bible study. It is interesting to notice, for example, that Rendel Harris in one of his lectures speaks of it as quite conceivable that somewhere in some remote corner of China there may be lurking Syriac and Chinese manuscripts which will some day enrich our knowledge of early Christian times.[1] " The Lord has yet more light and truth to break forth from His Word."

VII

SUNDRY DETAILS

THE source of each extract is stated in the references ; " see " implies that the English work mentioned is that from which the translation of the passage is taken, while " cp." refers merely to the handiest English version, when I have preferred my own translation. In many cases, of course, sayings occur in other works than those quoted, but it is not possible to give such additional references.

It is impossible to acknowledge worthily the debt one owes to such translators and the many others whose books have helped in the making of this one; I trust they will accept this and other references to their writings as some slight recognition.

Mention of the traditional author of a work does not imply that he is thought to have written it. For example, the so-called *Second Epistle* of Clement of Rome is generally agreed to be by an unknown author, but it is unnecessary to imply this each time it is quoted.

[1] *Sidelights on New Testament Research*, p. 133.

I have deliberately avoided making quotations in other languages and have rendered the titles of ancient works in English. The names of modern books are given in the original, however, lest it should be assumed that translations exist.

Some works are referred to in the notes simply by the author's name or some abbreviation, but full explanations are given below on page 24.

After much consideration, capitals have been used throughout for pronouns referring to Jesus, whether or not the writers quoted have used them. To preserve the translator's usage in each case would give a strangely choppy appearance.

Hearty thanks are due to Mr. Howard Mallett, M.A., of the Cambridge University Library, for help in the use of its treasures, and to the Rev. J. Phillips, B.A., of St. Ives, Hunts, for varied and valuable assistance.

ABBREVIATIONS

In addition to the customary abbreviations, the following brief ways of mentioning books and their writers frequently referred to should be noticed :

Asin.	*Logia et Agrapha,* by Michael Asin et Palacios, in vol. xiii of *Patrologia Orientalis.* There is no English translation, and the rendering used is my own, except where otherwise stated.
A.N.	Ante-Nicene Library, by various translators.
Clement (Alex.).	Clement of Alexandria.
Dodd.	*Sayings ascribed to Our Lord,* by J. T. Dodd.
Evelyn White.	*The Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus,* by H. G. Evelyn White.
Findlay.	*Byways in Early Christian Literature,* by A. F. Findlay.
G.H.	Drs. Grenfell and Hunt, the discoverers and editors of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri.
Griffinhoofe.	*The Unwritten Sayings of Jesus,* by C. G. Griffinhoofe.
H.D.B.	Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.*
Jackson.	*Twenty-five Agrapha,* by Blomfield Jackson.
Justin, *Dialogue.*	Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew.*
Margoliouth.	D. S. Margoliouth's Collection of 77 Moslem passages in *Expository Times* (November 1893 to March 1894), the first 48 of which will be found in *H.D.B.*, vol. v, p. 350.
Nicholson.	*The Gospel according to the Hebrews,* by E. B. Nicholson.
Pick.	*Paralipomena : Remains of Gospels and Sayings of Christ,* by Bernhard Pick.
Resch.	*Agrapha* (second edition), by Alfred Resch, in vol. xv (new series) of *Texte und Untersuchungen.*
Ropes.	Article "Agrapha" in *H.D.B.*, vol. v, by J. H. Ropes, the numbers referring to his list of passages, except where otherwise stated.

THE UNWRITTEN GOSPEL

CHAPTER I

OF MARY'S GODLY HOME AND OF THE NATIVITY

THE apocryphal Gospels, from which several passages are quoted in this and the following chapter, are not worthy of any very close study and do not yield much material for knowledge of the life of Jesus. The many fantastic miracles of which they tell and other crude features show clearly that unspiritual imagination has been at work, and that little reliance can be placed upon them. In fact, the contrast with the canonical Gospels is so great that preachers have often urged their hearers to read these others in order that the glory of the truth might be enhanced—a kind of negative argument for the historical accuracy of our Gospels.

In view of this low estimate of them, it may well be asked both how it is that they have survived and indeed been so widely diffused, and also why extracts are made from them here. A quotation from Ellicott [1] will go far to answer both questions. After calling them "these weak and foolish outpourings of heresy and credulity," and showing the little value set upon them by reputable scholars, he proceeds: "Our vital interest in Him of whom they pretend to tell us more than the canonical Scriptures have recorded is the real, though, it may be, hidden, reason why these poor fragments are read with interest even while they are despised. . . . What commends them, with all their pitiable absurdities and puerilities, is that they speak out from the depths of remote ages and tell us of Him. . . . The secret conviction buoys us up, that, perchance, they may contain a few traces of time-honoured traditions—some faint, feeble glimpses of

[1] *Cambridge Essays* (1856).

that blessed childhood, that pensive and secluded youth, over which, in passive moments, we muse with such irresistible longing to know more." And though his words do not at first suggest that these hopes can in any degree be fulfilled, yet later, as he deals with particular points, he does show reason to suppose that here and there authentic tradition may be included and some slight historical details preserved.

Of course, as Jerome [1] says, "it requires great discretion to look for gold among mud," but that does not seem a reason for declining the task altogether. There is surely a likelihood that some family memories may have been handed down and have found their way at least into secondary records dealing with Jesus. We should remember that the grandsons of His brother, Jude, are said to have been examined by the Emperor Domitian and to have lived till the time of Trajan (A.D. 98–117).[2] The most primitive of the apocryphal Gospels (commonly called the *Protevangelium*) claims to be by another brother, James, who was for long a prominent figure in the Jerusalem Church, and though it cannot be regarded as really his work, it may very possibly contain here and there reminiscences of his; it is usually thought to belong in substance to the second century, when many genuine traditions must still have been current.

I have selected from these writings three passages regarding Mary and the gift of her Son.

1. *Her father was named Joachim, and her mother Anna. Her father's house was from Galilee and the city of Nazareth, but her mother's family from Bethlehem. Their life was guileless and right before the Lord, and irreproachable and pious before men. For they divided all their substance into three parts. One part they spent upon the temple and the temple servants; another they distributed to strangers and the poor; the third they reserved for themselves and the necessities of their family.*

This opening extract has been chosen because of its pleasing suggestion of the pure stock from which she sprang, and the simple godly home life in which she was quite probably reared.

[1] Cited by Moffatt in Hastings' *Dict. of Apostolic Church*, vol. i, p. 482.
[2] Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. xvi.

The same kind of picture is given in most of these Gospels, and it is, of course, parallel to Luke i. 5–7.

2. *And she took the pitcher, and went out to fill it with water. And behold, a voice saying : " Hail, thou who hast received grace ; the Lord is with thee ; blessed art thou among women." And she looked round on the right hand and on the left, to see whence this voice came. And she went away, trembling, to her house, and put down the pitcher ; and taking the purple, she sat down on her seat, and drew it out. And behold, an angel of the Lord stood before her, saying : " Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found grace before the Lord of all, and thou shalt conceive, according to His word."*

Notice here the open-air scene, the coming at first of a voice without any vision, the natural description of Mary's perplexity and fear, and the whole vividness of the story; it reminds us also whence painters have often drawn their inspiration—many depict this incident as happening by the well, or if they place it indoors, like Burne-Jones they show the water-pot.

3. *And when they had come within three miles, Joseph turned and saw her sorrowful ; and he said to himself : " Likely that which is in her distresses her." And again Joseph turned and saw her laughing. And he said to her : " Mary, how is it that I see in thy face at one time laughter, at another sorrow ? " And Mary said to Joseph : " Because I see two peoples with my eyes, the one weeping and lamenting, and the other rejoicing and exulting."*

It is not at all impossible that a strange foreboding such as this should have perplexed Mary at such a time. Assuming the general accuracy of the story of the nativity it does not seem unlikely that some sense of the critical nature of the event should burden the mother, bringing with it timid joy and a vague unrest—a dim, uncertain feeling that her Son was destined to play a great part in the world, and, like all great men, to be a challenging influence amongst men, to some a savour of life unto life, to others a savour of death unto death. We should notice that, according to Luke ii. 34, 35, a similar premonition regarding Christ came to the aged Simeon in the Temple.

4. *When Joseph could find no place in the village where he might lodge, he put up in a cave which was near the village ; and when they were*

there, Mary brought forth the Christ and laid Him in a manger, where the Magi, who came from Arabia, found Him.

5. *When the child was born, the earth stretched itself out joyfully towards Him; the heavenly throne laughed and the world rejoiced.*

These two passages are from other early Christian writings. Regarding § 4, there seems to have been a fairly uniform tradition of this sort, and as it was not uncommon in the East to have stables in caves, there appears no reason to distrust this account. The last passage is quite frankly an excursion into the region of poetic thought, but that does not mean it should not be included here. May we not feel that the words hint at a profound truth? If Christ was indeed God's Word made flesh, was there not necessarily a deep congruity between His coming and the true life of earth and heaven, of nature and humanity? A certain note of music may draw forth responsive sounds from objects near at hand which are in essential harmony with it, and it is a happy conception that the advent of Christ was so attuned to the divine purposes of creation that it was welcomed with joy and, as once before, "the morning stars sang together" (Job xxxviii. 7).

REFERENCES.

1. *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary*, 1 (see A.N. xvi).
2. *Protevangelium*, 11 (see A.N. xvi).
3. Ibid., 17.
4. Justin, *Dialogue*, 78 (see Dodd, p. 13).
5. *Sibylline Oracles*, viii. 475–6 (see Findlay, p. 325, where, however, the reference is wrongly given).

CHAPTER II

OF THE BOYHOOD OF JESUS, WITH ITS WORK AND ITS PLAY

THE writers of the apocryphal Gospels showed as great an interest in the childhood of Jesus as in His nativity, but unfortunately they allowed imagination to run riot instead of seeking carefully to use only authentic facts. To quote Ellicott again, they "are nothing but catalogues of miracles and prodigies from the very cradle upwards, and it is only here and there that they pause to give us glimpses of what might have been historically true." That one or two such glimpses may be found is, however, my conviction, and for the sake of them we can endure the nonsense.

1. *In the time of sowing, Joseph went out to sow wheat, and Jesus followed him. And when Joseph began to sow, Jesus stretched out His hand, and took as much wheat as He could hold in His fist, and scattered it. Joseph therefore came at reaping-time to reap his harvest. Jesus came also, and collected the ears which He had scattered, and they made a hundred pecks of the best grain; and He called the poor, and the widows, and the orphans, and distributed to them the wheat which He had made.*

It does not seem to me that this story in itself implies anything miraculous; it is, indeed, exactly the kind of incident that would be proudly told by a mother and so later on come with embellishments to the eager ears of such writers as these. The child loved to do as His father did—Himself sowed a corner of the allotment and called it His own wheat-field—and when He gathered His little harvest (mightily magnified presently, of course, in the frequent re-telling) shared it round the neighbours. Why should it not have happened thus? Was He not likely to learn generosity in early days? It is a satisfying little peep into a happy childhood and a real home life, and I would not hesitate to tell it to children as true, with Acts xx. 35 as the Golden Text.[1]

[1] See *Expository Times*, August 1924, p. 512.

2. And Joseph used to go about through the whole city, and take the Lord Jesus with him, when people sent for him in the way of his trade to make for them doors, and milk-pails, and beds, and chests; and the Lord Jesus was with him wherever he went. As often, therefore, as Joseph had to make anything a cubit or a span longer or shorter, wider or narrower, the Lord Jesus stretched His hands towards it; and as soon as He did so, it became such as Joseph wished. Nor was it necessary for him to make anything with his own hand, for Joseph was not very skilful in carpentry.

Miracle is, of course, suggested here, but underlying there is I think a perfectly natural tradition, which may in all probability be true and which helps us not a little to picture those Nazareth days. The boy accompanied His father and shared his life and learnt his trade, and gradually became the more skilled of the two, so that the aged carpenter began to rely upon Him and to hand over work that baffled him or required correction. This again is entirely possible, and just the sort of thing that would be remembered and presently elaborated.

3. Now in the month of Adar, Jesus assembled the boys as if He were their King; they strewed their garments on the ground, and He sat upon them. Then they put on His head a crown wreathed of flowers, and, like attendants waiting on a king, they stood in order before Him on His right hand and on His left. And whoever passed that way, the boys took him by force, saying: "Come hither and adore the King, and then proceed on thy way."

It is not at all improbable that as a boy Jesus held such a position as this in the affections of the others. Farrar quoted the story and thought it might be based on fact.[1] We should remember that, as a man, Jesus certainly had all the qualities of kingship, and that it was along this line temptation attacked Him later on (Matt. iv. 8; John vi. 15). Adar was the twelfth month of the Jewish year, from the middle of February to the middle of March, and spring flowers would just be at their best, so the story is accurate at that point.

It is interesting to notice how differently the boyhood of John the Baptist was pictured. "There is a tradition that

[1] *Life of Christ*, ch. v.

while still a child he said to some boys who invited him to play: 'Not for games was I created.'" [1] The contrast is just that suggested by Jesus Himself in Matt. xi. 16–19, and it is very possible that both lines of tradition are soundly based, and that in each case the child was father of the man.

REFERENCES.

1. *Gospel of Thomas*, Latin version, 10 (see A.N. xvi).
2. *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*, 38 (see A.N. xvi).
3. Ibid., 41 (see Cowper, *The Apocryphal Gospels*).

[1] Levinus Warnerus' *Compendium Historicum*, p. 47.

CHAPTER III

OF THE YEARS OF PREPARATION, DURING WHICH THE PRESENCE AND THE WILL OF GOD BECAME REAL TO HIM

MODERN attempts to visualise these "silent years," as they have been well called, are usually confined to a general consideration of the circumstances in which Jesus grew, various suggestions being gleaned from the study of His natural and social surroundings.[1] This line of thought is a valuable contribution to the subject, but it should not make us ignore the possibility of authentic hints having been preserved outside the New Testament. That it was in various ways a time of preparation for the work that was to follow seems certain, and we may be sure there was a growing sense of God's presence and a gradual unveiling of His will, with the inevitable temptations that always confront the awakening soul. I have therefore grouped here several passages which seem to indicate such a period of transition and trial.

1. *He was used to follow the employment of a carpenter among men, making ploughs and yokes.*

This almost certainly represents fact, but requires no further comment, with perhaps the exception of the following lines, in which several interesting and very likely inferences are drawn:

> Men came
> From far to buy His plows that never turned
> Poor furrows; and still more His perfect yokes;
> So smoothly rounded these, so deftly shaped,
> That no sleek neck was ever galled by them—
> . . . . . .
> But goads He could not bring Himself to make.[2]

[1] See, for example, Ramsay's *The Education of Christ* and Glover's *The Jesus of History*, ch. ii.

[2] John Oxenham's *Gentlemen—the King!* p. 15.

2. Jesus said: "Just now My mother the Holy Spirit took Me by one of My hairs, and carried Me off to the great mountain Tabor."

This passage is commonly thought too grotesque to be genuine. Evidence is adduced to show that in the Early Church the Holy Spirit was sometimes regarded as the mother of the soul, but it is hardly credible that Jesus would so speak. A much simpler explanation of the passage is available—one that, so far as I am aware, has not hitherto been suggested—which if valid very greatly relieves the difficulty of it. In Greek the words "My mother," though in the nominative case with the article, may be used instead of the vocative. Read in this way, as addressed to Mary, the words belong to the immature period of the life of Jesus, when He was growing in spiritual sensibility but was not yet fully certain of His divine commission and all that it implied. I imagine Him, then, during early manhood, led to Tabor by a strong inner impulse, experiencing there some enlightenment of mind and enrichment of soul, and mysteriously telling Mary of it thus on His return; in this case it was through her in later days that the saying was transmitted. From the slopes and summit of Tabor wide landscapes are obtained, including views of many of the famous battle-sites of Hebrew history and of the great roads linking the Eastern and the Western worlds along which, in Gospel times, travelled Midianite caravans, Persian magi, Greek merchants, and Roman legions. It seems certain that an active boy of Nazareth would often visit Tabor, and that for one who was growing as Jesus was into a sense of God's purpose it must have brought very clearly the challenge of worldliness—the memory of ancient valour and the sight of present power, "the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them."

We may notice that the strange expression "took Me by one of My hairs" has a parallel in Ezek. viii. 3, and it is very probable that it is a reminiscence of this. It seems quite the kind of half-playful phrase that might readily be used, under such circumstances as I suggest, by one who must have been closely familiar with the old scriptures, and who was beginning to find the spiritual experiences of which they told coming also to Himself.

The passages that follow are all from Mohammedan writings. As mentioned in the Introduction, there are many sayings ascribed to Jesus and incidents narrated concerning Him in early Moslem books. The explanation of this is probably in part that many of Mahomet's converts were Arabian Christians, who would be in touch not only with the canonical Gospels, but with apocryphal and heretical books of all kinds, and possibly too with ancient oral traditions. It is no matter for wonder, then, that their works frequently mention Jesus, and that while some of their references are clearly traceable to the Gospels, others, though showing no actual link, reveal a real kinship. We must remember, too, that even if a saying seems to enshrine but little or nothing of our Master's actual speech, it may truly represent His spirit and be well worth preserving from that point of view.

3. *God revealed to Jesus: "Though Thou shouldest worship with the devotion of the inhabitants of the heaven and the earth, but hadst not love in God and hate in God, it would avail Thee nothing."*

The closest canonical parallel to this is perhaps 1 Cor. xiii. 1–3. May there not have been some traditional word of Jesus behind that great utterance of Paul's? "Hate" is, of course, used here in the same sense as in Luke xiv. 26. If we could think of this saying as authentic it would naturally belong to this formative period of the life of Jesus, when the will of God was being gradually unfolded to Him, and He was coming to realise that, whatever the appearance of things, there was no real religion except by identification of the mind with God, and that His estimate of values is vastly different from men's (Luke xvi. 15). I like to believe that He imparted more information regarding His inner experience than has come down to us in the Gospels, and that this and the following passages are of this nature, and may properly be linked with His narratives of the baptism and temptation as spiritual autobiography.

4. *God revealed unto Jesus: "Command the children of Israel that they enter not My house save with pure hearts, and humble eyes, and clean hands; for I will not answer any one of them against whom any has a complaint."*

5. God revealed to Jesus: "When I come to the heart of one of My servants and find nothing therein of love either for this world or the future life, then with love of Me will I fill him and hold him in My care as a friend."

The first of these passages reminds us of Ps. xxiv, and while it is possible the message of that psalm has been summarised by some unknown writer and connected thus with Jesus, it is equally likely that it may really have helped Jesus to reach this insight into God's will, and that therefore He Himself may have so moulded it to His purpose and used it to describe to the disciples His spiritual growth. Similarly, § 5 is exactly the kind of thing we can well suppose He would tell them in order to suggest a high ideal of devotional life. We may recall the lines of Francis Xavier's hymn:

> My God, I love Thee,—not because
> I hope for heaven thereby.

6. Jesus lay down one day with His head upon a stone. Satan, passing by, said: "O Jesus, Thou art fond of this world." So He took the stone and cast it from under His head, saying: "This be thine together with the world."

May not this have been His pictorial way of recounting His refusal to allow personal comfort a place in His life? If so, it lends considerable point to Matt. viii. 20. Remembering that He certainly narrated in picture form the story of His fiercest and most critical trials, when He was beset by various perplexities and tempted to take a lower course than the highest, it is not unlikely that on other occasions also He spoke similarly of grappling with evil suggestion. Notice Luke iv. 13, xxii. 28, which both imply that such experiences were not confined to that one especial occasion after His baptism, the latter text also suggesting that the disciples were aware of these spiritual conflicts, doubtless through His use of them for their edification. We shall find examples later on of His calling them and others to renunciation, and it is well to be reminded that His own life was of this order. Notice the words of the hymn:

O let me think how thou didst leave
Untasted every pure delight,
To fast, to faint, to watch, to grieve,
The toilsome day, the homeless night.

REFERENCES.

1. Justin, *Dialogue*, 88 (see Dodd, p. 15).
2. Origen, *Commentary on John*, vol. ii, ch. vi (see Ropes, 17).
3. Margoliouth, 15.
4. Ibid., 6.
5. Asin, 90.
6. Margoliouth, 22.

CHAPTER IV

OF JOHN'S BAPTISM AT THE JORDAN AND THE CRISIS IN THE LIFE OF JESUS

A NUMBER of references, both to John the Baptist's life and work and also to his baptism of Jesus, are gathered in this chapter. Many other statements are found which I have not included for various reasons. Justin, for example, says that a fire was kindled on the Jordan when Jesus went down into the water, and he thrice speaks of John as "sitting" on the banks of the Jordan—a vivid touch reminding us of the natural posture for a teacher then, but probably quite a casual statement and not based on any real knowledge. As a matter of fact, John's message was much more proclamation than instruction, and was so linked with the work of baptizing that probably the suggestion is unsound; it is certainly apt to give too calm an impression of the situation. It was a strenuous revivalist campaign rather than a quiet school of morals.

1. *Now at that time a man went about among the Jews in strange garments; for he had put pelts on his body everywhere where it was not covered with his own hair; indeed, to look at he was like a wild man. He came to the Jews and summoned them to freedom, saying: "God hath sent me, that I may show you the way of the Law, wherein ye may free yourselves from many holders of power. And there will be no mortal ruling over you, only the Highest, who hath sent me." And when the people had heard this, they were joyful.*

This is the first of three statements quoted here which are ascribed to the famous Jewish historian, Josephus. It is part of a long passage found only in the Slavonic version of his *Jewish War*; several other such passages occur there, the origin and worth of which are matters of controversy. It has recently been argued with much force that they may really contain the earliest known non-Christian reports regarding John and Jesus.[1] An extract referring to Jesus will be cited

[1] *The Gnostic John the Baptizer*, by G. R. S. Mead, pp. 97 f.

below.[1] This description of John and his preaching is probably not far from the truth. It reminds us that John proclaimed the coming of God's Kingdom upon the earth (Matt. iii. 2), and it gives an interesting hint that this was conceived of as meaning the liberation of men's hearts from any rule but that of God. "A condition of celestial anarchy would have ensued" if this "Law" had been carried out. On which thought see below (§ 6) and Chapter XVII.

2. *He was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to justice towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism; for baptism would be acceptable to God, if they made use of it not in order to expiate some sin, but for the purification of the body, provided that the soul was purified beforehand by righteousness.*

This is part of the famous passage in the *Antiquities* of Josephus, which, unlike the often-quoted reference to Jesus—commonly regarded as an interpolation [2]—is probably genuine and trustworthy. It seems to me to have a distinct value in the idea that it suggests of the baptism. It is clear from the Gospels that John urged the necessity for a moral preparation in the hearts of those who desired to share in the Kingdom which he announced to be at hand. The word rendered "repentance" is literally "change of mind," implying "amendment of life" (see Matt. iii. 8, A.V. margin). Baptism was but the outward expression of this inward experience; it had no efficacy in itself. Isaiah's challenge, "Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes" (i. 16), was in effect repeated and reinforced by this acted parable. But it seems likely that there was some attempt on the part of the religious leaders to minimise this ethical emphasis and to regard Jewish birth as more necessary than moral earnestness (Matt. iii. 9), and baptism as merely a kind of formal sealing of the elect. "Possibly the outburst, 'Ye offspring of vipers,' may have been provoked by the thought that many of his hearers were relying on his baptism as of value *per se*, and teaching others to do the same." [3] This passage of Josephus is added evidence, then, that John did so

[1] See p. 140.

[2] But see Dr. Thackeray's lecture in *Judaism and the Beginnings of Christianity*, pp. 215 f.

[3] *H.D.B.*, vol. ii, p. 679.

stress the moral issue ; in fact, it almost seems to make clearer than do the Gospels his insistence on the secondary and symbolic nature of the actual ceremony (note " beforehand "). It is perhaps not unimportant to call attention to this in view of the way in which false notions even of Christian baptism still persist. Notice the words of the Creed, " I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins "—where Mark's description of John's baptism (i. 4) is made use of but the vital word " repentance " is omitted, the evident suggestion being that baptism is itself both necessary and efficacious. The omission changes it from a baptism of those who, because of their penitence, are obtaining remission into a baptism of those who hope by this means to gain that end. This is not the teaching of the New Testament, and the extract we are considering gives valuable and nearly contemporary witness that our records faithfully reproduce the earliest thought upon this question. The remainder of this passage from Josephus is given below (§ 6).

3. *Behold, the mother of the Lord and His brethren said to Him : " John the Baptist baptizeth for remission of sins ; let us go and be baptized by him." But He said to them : " Wherein have I sinned that I should go and be baptized by him ? Except perchance this very thing that I have said is ignorance."*

4. *And it came to pass, when the Lord had come up from the water, the entire fountain of the Holy Spirit descended and rested upon Him, and said to Him : " My Son, in all the prophets did I await Thee, that Thou mightest come and I might rest in Thee. For Thou art My rest, Thou art My first-born Son, that reignest for ever."*

5. *" Thou art My Son ; I have this day begotten Thee."*

Of these references to the baptism of Jesus, the first two are from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*—a lost work cited occasionally by Early Church writers. Some reason will be given in the next chapter and subsequently for thinking that it may sometimes preserve authentic hints. Many modern scholars think the story in § 3 to be one such ; it certainly appears to suit exactly what we must surely feel was the spiritual condition of Jesus at this moment. As we have seen in the last chapter, there is good reason to think of Him as having lived a stainless life and as having come to the convic-

tion that God was calling Him to service. The consciousness of purity and yet the sense of uncertainty preserved in this saying seem precisely what might be expected in this period of transition. It reads very much like a real reminiscence of the brothers of Jesus ; it is quite natural to suppose that they would make some such suggestion to Him and recall it later on when their unbelief had passed (Acts i. 14).

The story of the Voice at the baptism in § 4 varies considerably from that in the canonical Gospels, but this is not necessarily a proof of its inaccuracy, for we must remember that it is almost certainly to Jesus Himself that we owe any such accounts at all ; the experience was surely an inner one, of which He alone could tell. We are reading His own spiritual autobiography again, so to speak, and it is perfectly natural that He should narrate the matter in different ways on different occasions, as we shall later show to have been the case with other parts of His teaching. I have therefore not scrupled to include here also § 5—another version still. Various ancient MSS. and writers give the words thus in Luke iii. 22, and Harnack [1] is of opinion that this is probably the original reading there, the usual form having crept in later in order to harmonise the story to the other Gospels. There is clearly a link in the one case with Isa. xi. 2 and in the other with Ps. ii. 7, but it would be quite in the manner of Jesus to phrase His thoughts in Old Testament language.

Menzies, who thinks the second of these stories (§ 4) from the Hebrew Gospel can scarcely be an invention, puts its significance thus : " Here more distinctly than in any of the canonical Gospels the baptism is the act by which Jesus is made acquainted with His destiny to bring about the highest revelation of God." [2] If this is sound, the passage accords well with the view of the development of Jesus that I have suggested above. The emphasis is upon the wealth of the spiritual endowment that was to be His, in contrast alike to the partial enrichment of the prophets and to His own occasional experience of guidance earlier. That He was thus amply endowed is clear from the Gospel story, and this " fulness " deeply impressed the Early Church (Col. ii. 9 ; John i. 14).

[1] *The Sayings of Jesus*, Excursus ii. [2] *H.D.B.*, vol. v, p. 342.

6. *Now, as many flocked to John, for they were greatly moved by hearing his words, Herod, fearing that the great influence he had over the people might lead to some rebellion (for the people seemed likely to do anything he should advise), thought it far best, by putting him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties by sparing a man who might make him repent of his leniency when it should be too late. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner, in consequence of Herod's suspicious temper, to Machærus, the fortress, and was there put to death.*

This account of John's death appears at first sight to contradict the canonical narrative, in which the reason for his downfall is stated to have been Herod's enmity in consequence of the prophet's condemnation of his adultery (Mark vi. 17, 18). But both versions may well be true. "Superficially different from the Gospel record, and assigning quite another cause for John's imprisonment and death, it correctly describes his character and his influence with the people, and leaves abundant room for a more intimately personal motive on the part of Antipas for the imprisonment of John. If the jealousy of Herodias was the actual reason for John's arrest, it is highly probable that another cause would be named to the world, and a likelier one than that given by Josephus could not be found." [1] It is also quite likely, however, that the political was the original and deeper cause of the trouble. It is difficult to suppose that the possibly revolutionary results of such a movement (cp. § 1 above) would not be evident at the Court, and if he were summoned there for examination his rebuke of Herod's sin might naturally follow—which seems a more probable course of events than that John took the initiative in the matter. But in whatever way the political and the personal elements in the situation were linked, it seems clear that both must have been involved, and Josephus' narrative helps us materially to understand the closing scenes in John's career.

REFERENCES.

1. See Mead's work referred to above.
2. Josephus, *Antiquities*, xviii, v. 2 (see Rhees' *Life of Jesus*, p. 71).
3. Jerome, *Against the Pelagians*, iii, 2. (see Nicholson, p. 36).
4. Jerome, *Commentary on Isaiah*, at xi. 2 (see Nicholson, p. 43).
5. The reading of Codex Bezae (see Nicholson, p. 40).
6. As § 2.

[1] Rhees' *Life of Jesus*, p. 72.

CHAPTER V

OF HOW HE BEGAN TO PROCLAIM THE GOOD NEWS, AND OF THOSE WHOM HE CALLED TO FOLLOW AND TO HELP HIM

I HAVE grouped here passages relating both to the first proclamation of Christ's message and to the opposition which seems to have been aroused quite early and to have been the cause of His forming the band of apostles (Mark iii. 1–21).

1. *Beginning in the spring season, He was preaching to the Jews the Kingdom of the invisible God, and saying that whoever of them would reform his manner of living should enjoy it.*

There is no mention in the Gospels regarding the time of year when Christ's ministry began; the statement here may conceivably be a deduction from John iv. 35, but is quite possibly an independent tradition. The description of His preaching is interesting, and reminds us of Mark i. 14, 15; Matt. iv. 17, 23, v. 3. Unlike many of His later followers, His emphasis was continually upon "the Kingdom of God"; this phrase or its equivalents occurs over a hundred times in the Gospels, and was clearly at the very heart of His message. We should notice that a deliberate personal act of reformation is spoken of in the canonical passages and here as the way to enter and enjoy the Kingdom. This inner acknowledgment of God's rule and loyal acceptance of His will is the simplest conception of the Kingdom; its social aspects and future establishment upon earth will come before us later. Meanwhile it should be noted that this idea of a new way of life, entrance to which is by way of repentance, connects clearly both with the work of John and with the collection of sayings which follows in the next chapter.

2. "*The Heavenly Father desireth the sinner's repentance rather than his punishment.*"

3. *" Repent, O house of Israel, of your iniquity. Say to the children of My people : Though your sins reach from earth to heaven, and though they be redder than scarlet and blacker than sackcloth, yet if ye turn to Me with your whole heart, and say, Father ! I will listen to you, as to a holy people."*

These two passages are not quite definitely attributed to Jesus by the writers in whose works they occur, and are sometimes thought to be merely loose citations of certain Old Testament texts. In each case, however, there are reasons for thinking that Jesus Himself may have so spoken, moulding earlier words to his purpose ; § 2 is quoted, for example, as if it were the closing sentence of Mark ii. 17. In support of this idea, too, we may remark that the passages cited under § 1 must be merely the summary of much unrecorded preaching, and that this would naturally be couched in part in familiar language ; the Gospels show Him constantly not only making actual quotations from the Old Testament, but using its language and adapting it to His own needs. The use of " Father " in such a way as this is quite without parallel in the Old Testament, and we would like to think it due to Jesus Himself.

4. *And when Jesus came with manifest proofs, He said : " Now am I come to you with wisdom ; and a part of those things about which ye are at variance I will clear up to you ; fear ye God therefore and obey Me. Verily, God is My Lord and your Lord ; wherefore worship ye Him ; this is a right way."*

5. *And when Jesus perceived unbelief on their part, He said : " Who will be My helpers in the cause of God ? " The apostles said : " We will be God's helpers."*

These statements are from the Koran, which contains several references to Jesus, but hardly any that at all commend themselves to us. They have less of the Christian atmosphere than many of the later Mohammedan sayings to which reference was made in Chapter III. These two extracts, however, certainly do present some aspects of Christian truth. For if the Jews had been willing to learn wisdom from Him, their disagreements would have been largely resolved. The desire of Jesus to bring unity amongst their different parties and

classes is surely hinted at in the word "together" in the lament over Jerusalem (Matt. xxiii. 37). "Fear ye God therefore and obey Me" is a fine precept which would not have surprised us had it been in the Gospels. "My Lord and your Lord" may sound strange, but is really very near to John xx. 17. The suggestion that when Jesus saw the unbelief with which His message was received He enlisted followers as for a special campaign is borne out by the Gospel story, as mentioned above. This first period of His life has sometimes been spoken of as though it were filled with uninterrupted popularity and unmingled success, but that was not so (Matt. xi. 20–24). The thought that God requires helpers if His work and will are to be done is well expressed here, and one is happy to think of the followers of Jesus recognising this necessity and volunteering for service.

6. *And when He had come to Capernaum, He entered into the house of Simon who was surnamed Peter, and opened His mouth, and said: "Passing by the lake of Tiberias I chose out John and James, sons of Zebedee, and Simon, and Andrew, and Thaddeus, and Simon the Zealot, and Judas the Iscariot; and thee, Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom I called, and thou didst follow Me. I will, therefore, that ye be twelve apostles for a testimony to Israel."*

Epiphanius—a fourth-century writer—quoted this as part of an extract from the Gospel used by the Ebionites, who were an early Jewish-Christian sect. He speaks of this Gospel being "according to Matthew, but falsified and mutilated." Into the difficult question of the nature of this lost book we cannot enter here at any length, but in view of the probability that our first Gospel is not in its present form the work of the apostle Matthew, but a composite book in which are embedded extracts from an earlier work by him, it seems perfectly possible that this Ebionite Gospel was also based upon that primitive apostolic work, with variations due to the peculiar tenets of this sect. The same is true regarding the mysterious *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, to which we shall have occasion to refer frequently in these pages. The persistent tradition by which the name of Matthew is linked with all three works is best explained if there was such a groundwork variously worked up by different editors.

Now, of course, if this is so, the possible authenticity of some points quoted from one or other of these two uncanonical Gospels is much increased. Each extract has to be considered on its merits ; there is always the likelihood of either heretical or fanciful touches having crept in, but there is also the possibility that correct details may have been preserved which might have found their way into the canonical Matthew, but failed to do so. Taking this present passage, for example, may we not regard it as possibly a picturesquely phrased reminiscence or even a contemporary note, Matthew's name being the last because he was addressed and singled out for the task of reporting ?

This idea, of contemporaneous records having been made and perhaps having survived, though not commonly accepted by scholars, is less improbable than might at first be thought, as will appear from the following points : (1) There is an obvious likelihood that early notes would be written of what Jesus said and did in view of the example of the literary prophets and of the fact that He was commonly thought to be of the line of the prophets (Mark vi. 15 ; Luke vii. 16) ; (2) the use of shorthand was by no means unknown in those days, as various Egyptian papyri and other evidence show ; (3) Matthew's occupation would peculiarly fit him for the rapid and accurate taking of notes, which, of course, could then be worked up into a fuller narrative later on.[1]

If we can accept this possibility, another explanation than carelessness is possible for the omission of four names from the list. These men may not yet have been chosen. Jesus' reference to twelve would then merely imply His intention to make the number of His apostles correspond to the number of the tribes of Israel. This was no doubt His purpose, and it would be interesting to have such a statement of it. One commentator on this passage actually translates : "According to My intention ye shall be . . . "[2] We should thus have here a vague statement of when and where Thaddæus, Simon the Zealot, and Judas were called—" by the lake." Were they also fishermen ? Or workers of some other kind on the shore ?[3]

[1] See my article in *Expositor*, August 1924.
[2] Pick, p. 17.
[3] See p. 85.

Assuming that Bartholomew was the same as Nathanael, Thomas would then be the only one of the Twelve the circumstances of whose call are quite unknown. Further, the completion and public intimation of their appointment is, of course, narrated in Mark iii. 13–19 and Luke vi. 13–17 ; and if the well-known and clearly-defined arrangement into three groups of four each took place then, we should have a satisfactory explanation of the unusual order of the names here. It would be a casual enumeration with no plan in it—perhaps the order in which they were sitting as He spoke.

7. *And when He chose His apostles, which were afterwards to publish His Gospel, He took men who had been very great sinners ; that thereby He might plainly show that He came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance.*

As regards this strange statement, we cannot be at all sure that the writer based his remark on any more definite evidence than Matt. ix. 13 and the context, with perhaps the recollection in the background of their slowness of heart, of Thomas' doubt, of Peter playing the part of Satan (Mark viii. 33) and later denying his Lord, and of Judas. It is quite possible, however, that he had some other tradition to work upon. In any case, the point is clear, and quite worth recalling, that the power of the Gospel to save and change sinners was first demonstrated in those who were themselves presently sent out to proclaim it to others. From being weak and wilful they become strong and staunch in the cause of Christ, and they are for ever witnesses that no one has too far strayed or too often fallen to become not only a disciple, but a maker of other disciples.

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4. *Koran*, 43 (Rodwell's translation).
5. Ibid, 3.
6. Epiphanius, *Heresies*, xxx. 13 (see Nicholson, p. 29).
7. *Epistle of Barnabas*, 5 (see Dodd, p. 5).

CHAPTER VI

OF THE LONG-SOUGHT KINGDOM, ITS HEAVENLY AND HEART-ENRICHING TREASURE, AND THE FREEDOM FROM THE WAYS OF THE WORLD THAT IS NECESSARY IF MEN WOULD POSSESS IT.

I HAVE collected various sayings in this chapter which seem to me to give a brief but fair representation of the central message of Jesus—that He was calling men to a changed life of a far better and more abundant kind than the ordinary life of mankind. If they would but seek diligently, humbly, trustfully, and refuse to let lower things hold them in bondage, they would be enriched in many and marvellous ways. But such strenuous search was essential, and unless it were given the treasure would be missed. This teaching is fully in accord with the Sermon on the Mount, and especially with Matt. vi. 33, which has been called " Christianity according to Jesus," and certainly seems at the very heart of His Gospel. The lazy caricatures of His message, which imply that God does all that requires to be done and which almost ignore the human element of response, obedience, loyalty, find little support in the Sermon. Remember its closing emphasis upon doing " these sayings of Mine."

Three passages are included here from the famous Oxyrhynchus papyri (§§ 1, 9, 14). A great variety of opinion still exists regarding their origin and value, but I am not convinced by the arguments advanced against their authenticity, and hold that very early and genuine elements are at any rate included. One point in favour of this view is that in several cases parallel statements are found ascribed to Jesus in other early writings. While each of these three sayings is interesting, § 1 is the most striking.

1. *" Let not him who seeks cease until he finds, and when he finds he shall be astonished, astonished he shall reign, and having reigned he shall rest."*

Perhaps the nearest canonical passage is Matt. xiii. 44, 45, where surprise and joy are hinted at, and the teaching is obviously that the Kingdom is so well worth gaining that it is to be sought for long and earnestly and through any sacrifice. The idea of " reigning " as part of the heavenly blessing occurs in Matt. xix. 28 and Luke xxii. 30. But while the suggestion of these passages is of an exceptional privilege for the Twelve, the nature of which it is not perhaps quite easy for us to comprehend, the idea occurs in other parts of the New Testament (Rom. v. 19 ; 2 Tim. ii. 12) that all the followers of Christ are to share with Him an exalted experience of dominion. One would like to feel that this idea had its origin in some words spoken by Jesus, such as these before us. I think the meaning is most clearly given in Rev. i. 6, v. 10, xx. 6. Linking them with 1 Pet. ii. 9 (" royal "), we get the striking thought that those who have entered into allegiance to Christ and are citizens of His Kingdom become during their earthly lifetime a regal people, a moral aristocracy, a sovereign caste in the world (using that term, of course, without its harsher elements). A British official in India shares in ruling, and so, in a sense, in reigning. Eliminating all idea of coercion, and remembering that love is the law of the Kingdom, may not the influence of Christians be usefully thought of thus ? They are to eschew the domineering spirit (Mark x. 42, 43), but it is of the very nature of faith to have the power of the keys and to win spiritual authority (Matt. xvi. 19 ; John xx. 23). It is interesting to notice how naturally we turn to this illustration of kingship when speaking of exceptional moral influence—as when Mary Slessor is called the White Queen of Okoyong, or Wilfred Grenfell the Uncrowned King of Labrador. William Knibb was often called " king " by the negroes in Jamaica, whose liberation he so largely won : " Who do come for we King, King Knibb. Him fight de battle ; him win de crown." [1] This appears to be the fundamental idea of this part of the saying, and in line with this interpretation it seems to me that the " rest " promised is to be found and enjoyed first of all on this earth ; that surely is true also of the familiar words in Matt. xi. 28, 29. Do the " kings and

[1] See his *Memoir*, by Mrs. J. J. Smith, p. 52.

priests" of God find rest to their souls in this lifetime? Grenfell's reference to his famous "ice-pan" adventure is perhaps sufficient answer: "I can honestly say that from first to last not a single sensation of fear passed my mind."[1] This is the peace that passes understanding—but is none the less real for all that.

2. "*I am the gate of life; he who entereth through Me, entereth into life.*"

3. "*I give unto you a great inheritance, which the whole world hath not.*"

4. "*Buy for yourselves, O ye children of Adam, through these transitory things which are not yours, that which is yours which does not pass away.*"

5. "*Keep the flesh pure, and the seal unspotted, that ye may receive life.*"

These passages from various sources describe in different ways the heavenly treasure which those find who do seek earnestly. The first is, of course, similar to John x. 9, and may be either a confused memory of it or the same teaching on a different occasion. We should remember that Jesus must surely have often repeated and reproduced His sayings, and it would be quite natural to modify them slightly under such circumstances. Much modern comment on the Gospels is vitiated by the absurd postulate that He spoke in a particular way once only, and that variations in different accounts are always due to the error of transmitters. Surely it is a far more reasonable supposition that, like all good teachers, He said the same things again and again, and was differently remembered.[2] In § 3 the word "inheritance" is of interest, for it is not actually in the Gospels attributed to Jesus in this sense; the verb occurs, however, and though used primarily of other-worldly recompense (Matt. xxv. 34) is also perhaps associated with the idea of heavenly treasure in this life (Luke x. 25, 28). Both words are frequent in the Epistles, as also "heirs," and we can better understand their occurrence there if Jesus Himself made use of them. We find § 4 in a patristic comment

[1] *A Labrador Doctor*, ch. xviii.
[2] See my article in *Expositor*, November 1924.

upon the Parable of the Unjust Steward (Luke xvi. 1–9), but there is a freshness and force about it that suggest a parallel teaching on some other occasion from that on which the parable was spoken, rather than merely a later writer's reference to it; it is also very near to Luke xii. 33. Of course, it would be easy to caricature the saying as a precept to purchase heaven by generosity, any attempt to do which must ever "profit nothing" (1 Cor. xiii. 3), but it surely cuts deeper than this. We cannot separate ourselves wholly from the use of material things, but we are bidden to exercise a wise discrimination regarding them. We are to share God's estimate of their place and purpose, and so prepare ourselves for the higher responsibilities later on (Matt. xxv. 14, 30). We are destined, Jesus says in effect, to be heirs of God's wondrous treasures; let us beware, then, of handling the meaner currency of this world in any way but such as will help and fit us for that splendid heritage. A particular application of this teaching is suggested in § 5. It is interesting to notice that the same adjective "unspotted" is found in James i. 27, and that this epistle is saturated with the thoughts of Christ.

6. *"Become wise bankers, disapproving some things, but holding fast that which is good."*

The first part of this, "Become wise bankers," is the most widely quoted uncanonical saying of Jesus, and must almost certainly be accepted. Resch [1] gives sixty-nine instances of it, in many of which it is found in association with 1 Thess. v. 21; I have therefore given it in this fuller form. It carries on the thought of the heavenly treasure in several ways. (1) To cherish thoughts and cultivate habits of godliness is to become enriched with a wealth that cannot be destroyed, but we are to test all such possible wealth—all that claims to be worth having—and to distinguish between true gold and counterfeit. One ancient writer, after quoting the saying, adds, "discerning the genuine coin of the Lord from the forgery," and another three times uses the passage to suggest that there are true and spurious things in Scripture, and that we are to

[1] P. 112.

discriminate ; this is early testimony against the false doctrine of verbal inspiration. (2) True riches increase by this process of sifting and storing. There is a principle of spiritual usury by which, the more we ponder and express truth, the more we really possess it. (3) We are called to undertake this process of testing and amassing heavenly wealth not for our own sakes only, but for the benefit of others. There are many who can neither discriminate rightly nor develop their spiritual resources themselves (see Rom. xv. 1 ; 1 Cor. x. 33, especially noticing " profit," which carries on this metaphor). We are to act as bankers for the spiritually poor.

7. *" The seed grows on good soil, but not on hard rock. Even so wisdom works in the heart of the humble, but not in the heart of the proud."*

8. *" Ye company of My apostles : Discharge to the utmost the duties of religion, and be content with the cheapest things in this world, just as the people of this world are content with the minimum of religious observance if so be that they may get the complete possession of this world."*

9. *" Be not anxious from morning until evening nor from evening until morning, either for your food, what ye shall eat, or for your raiment, what ye shall put on. Ye are far better than the lilies which grow but spin not. Having one garment, what do ye lack ? Who could add to your stature ? He Himself will give to you your garment."*

These passages are closely akin to familiar texts, and may be due to imaginative meditation rather than to divergent tradition. The first recalls the Parable of the Sower—in Luke viii. 5–15 especially ; " good soil " and " hard rock " reproduce the Gospel almost exactly, and " the heart of the humble " is not very far from " an honest and good heart," nor " wisdom " from " the word of God," the reference being, of course, to the inner impulse of the Spirit upon men's hearts. The teaching is that while the seed of truth cannot germinate in those who are hardened with selfish pride, in those who walk humbly with their God it grows and bears much fruit. The closing phrase of § 8 reminds us of Mark viii. 36 (" gain the whole world "), and that whole section of canonical teaching lies in the background of this saying, but Matt. vi. 24 also seems in mind. We must choose one of two lords ; having

chosen the service of God, let us be content and not hanker constantly after what we are missing of the other master's favour. Whether those who choose mammon can ever be really satisfied is another question ; perhaps the fact that they do so commonly retain a slight link with religion, as is here suggested, may be a hint that their hearts are restless because they are not resting in God. There are two interesting points in § 9. The suggestion of the persistence of worry through anxious day and sleepless night is very realistic, and reminds us of Deut. xxviii. 66, 67. And there is a new and important emphasis on simplicity—" one garment " (cp. Matt. x. 10; 1 Tim. vi. 6–8), which is carried on in the next passage.

10. " *Sufficient for the labourer is his maintenance.*"

This is linked by Epiphanius with Luke x. 7, " For the labourer is worthy of his hire," but the canonical passage differs from this in its main point, teaching that the workman ought to receive adequate reward, whereas this gives the correlative truth that he is to be satisfied with what will maintain him and not seek for more than is sufficient. The primary significance of " labourer " here is no doubt " worker in God's cause," but the wider application of the words must not be shirked. They cannot, however, be quoted by employers to those who ask a higher wage, unless they themselves are satisfied with the little that is really adequate to their needs.

11. " *Consider the fowls ; they do not sow nor reap nor gather into barns, and yet God sustains them from day to day. But, and if ye say, our stomachs are bigger than theirs—consider the camels, how God has designed these created things for their support.*"

Regarding this camel illustration, Rendel Harris asks : " Is that part of the original teaching ? If so, it comes under the heading of Humorous Touches in the teaching of Jesus." [1] We have perhaps forgotten too much that there was a measure of playfulness in many of Christ's sayings. But we may notice further that the objection which is supposed to be raised and which Jesus is represented as answering thus

[1] *Expositor*, August 1918.

is a very possible one. It is exceedingly likely that the free, simple life of birds would seem to some to be much more easily assured than the more complex and intricate life of men. To be reminded, then, of the marvellous provision made by God for the sustenance of camels during long, thirst-compelling journeys through waterless deserts is not inapt.

12. "*Do not be anxious for to-morrow's necessities. For if to-morrow shall be within the limits of your life, your food will without doubt come at the same time. But if to-morrow is not within the limits of your life, then do not be anxious about the limits of your relatives' lives.*"

Here we have another warning against anxiety, the underlying assumption being that one is living in touch with God and not hindering His will from being done. But there is an added point—the reference to relations; worry is so often excused as being for others' sake. The message of this saying is in effect: God's love for them is greater than yours—trust Him—and if you are co-operating with His wonder-working grace and putting no barriers in the way of His perfect and beautiful will, there is no cause for anxiety. We shall deal somewhat with the reasonableness of this teaching in a later chapter.

We come next to some interesting and important statements of the truth that this enrichment of heart and freedom from care can only be ours if we are willing to turn and live changed lives.

13. "*Except ye make the right hand as the left hand, and the left hand as the right hand, and that which is upwards as that which is downwards, that which is before as that which is behind, ye shall not know the Kingdom of God.*"

At first sight this is perplexing, but we must remember that Jesus often spoke in enigmas to arrest attention and arouse thought, and the meaning is really quite clear. In Christ we become new creatures, with a new outlook on life and a new estimate of worth (2 Cor. v. 17). Our scale of values has changed, and with God we regard as abominable much that is exalted among men (Luke xvi. 15). We no

longer judge " after the flesh " (1 Cor. i. 26), and many seemingly foolish, weak and base things are now seen to be in reality wise, mighty and noble. Everything is different from before. It is not at all improbable, then, that on some occasion Jesus used this striking manner of speech to call men to a reversal of old standards and a complete right-about-face. We should compare Matt. xviii. 3 (" Except ye turn . . . ye shall not . .") and Acts xvii. 6, with its hint of an upside-down world from the worldly point of view ; we may remember, too, as pointed out in Chapter IV, that the word " repentance " means literally " change of mind." I regard this passage, then, as valuable and likely to be authentic. It would be impossible to imagine an appeal more crammed with the essential challenge to conversion than this—every phrase is telling, every word is true. Its enigmatic form may well account for its comparative disappearance from notice. But the need to-day is for just this message and for a fresh realisation that Christians are called to a life of a vastly different sort from that of the world ; the distinction has become much neglected, with consequent failure of the Church to conquer the world's evil.

14. " *Except ye fast toward the world, ye shall not find the Kingdom of God ; and unless ye sanctify the whole week, ye shall not see the Father.*"

Here the same essential meaning is given in two remarkable phrases. Jesus speaks in Matt. vi. 16 of fasting as though it were a proper part of the life He would have His followers live ; and though in Mark ix. 29 the word has been relegated to the margin of the R.V. (on what is hardly conclusive evidence), the idea cannot be as easily banished from Christian teaching. Properly understood, fasting is very closely linked with prayer. The prayer, for the lack of which Jesus reproved the disciples who failed, is not easy asking, but persistent and obedient inquiry into the sources of power ; and such perseverance is only possible when we abstain (or fast) from much that might otherwise have a legitimate place in life. Such a disciplined search into the treasures of truth is certain to be

rewarded (Matt. v. 8, vi. 18; 2 Cor. vii. 1), and, on the contrary, without so refraining from lesser things, there can be neither vision of God nor enjoyment of His rule (Heb. xii. 14; Luke ix. 62). This condition is in no way arbitrary; we have an exact parallel in the impossibility of learning anything worth the knowing, or gaining any skill worth the having, without abstention from much else. William Sharp wrote: "I realise more and more the literal truth of what George Meredith told me, that renunciation of ordinary social pleasures is a necessity to any worker on the high levels." [1] And Christians ought to be workers on the highest levels of all. The same truth is urged in the second half of this saying under a different metaphor. The phrase is literally "except ye sabbatise the Sabbath," but there are good reasons for adopting the above rendering. A quotation from Justin will help to make the meaning clear: "The new law wishes you to sabbatise continually, and ye, while ye do no work throughout one day, imagine that ye act piously. This is because ye do not understand why the command was given you. Also if ye have eaten unleavened bread ye say that ye have fulfilled the law. Not in these things is the Lord our God pleased. If there is anyone among you forsworn or a thief, let him cease; if any adulterer, let him repent, and then he has sabbatised the true and joyous Sabbath of God." [2]

15. "*Be saved, thou and thy soul.*"

16. "*Come forth, ye that will, from your bonds.*"

To these passages there is in each case an Old Testament parallel—Gen. xix. 17 and Isa. xlix. 9 respectively. But the manner in which the citations occur makes it probable that they are examples of Jesus clothing His appeal in familiar language rather than of loose patristic quotation. As regards the one, it certainly seems likely that on some occasion Jesus spoke such words as these; He commended those who were being "saved" (Luke vii. 50, viii. 48, xix. 9), and it has often appeared strange that there is no definite precept of this sort in the Gospels. The other contains a valuable emphasis—not

[1] His *Memoir*, by his wife (first edition), p. 267. [2] *Dialogue*, 12.

found in Isaiah—upon the necessity for willingness if freedom is to be gained, and it is a very apt summary of Christ's call to those in every kind of bondage (Luke iv. 18).

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CHAPTER VII

OF THE BROTHERLY LOVE WHICH THE FATHER WOULD HAVE HIS CHILDREN FEEL AND SHOW ONE TO ANOTHER

BROTHERLINESS is such an integral part of Christian discipleship that it is not surprising we should find a stress laid upon it, not only in the Gospels, but in the uncanonical sayings. The first two are from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, as cited by Jerome, a prominent fourth-century writer to whom most of our information about this lost work is due.

1. "*Never rejoice, except when you have looked upon your brother in love.*"

2. "*Amongst the greatest offenders is he who shall have grieved the spirit of his brother.*"

Farrar quoted § 1 at the head of Chapter XXIV. in his *Life of Christ*, and it is commonly thought to be genuine. The reference to the look of love is important, and belongs to the realm of ideas in Matt. v. 22, 28 ; the look is more the index of thought than either word or deed, and we are to cherish the spirit of love and not merely content ourselves with kindly speech or help. These should be the good fruit of heart love ; only so shall blessing really come to " him that gives and him that takes." In § 2 we are reminded of the familiar teaching that unbrotherliness is really more evil than either ceremonial fault or grosser sin (Luke vii. 44–48, xviii. 9–14), but there seems here a valuable hint of the less open and obvious aspects of unbrotherly conduct. It is so possible to grieve and distress without uttering an unpleasant word or doing an unkind deed. Just as the first saying emphasises the inward nature of true love, so here we are reminded of our brother's inner life also and warned of harming there. Both passages illustrate Christ's

reversal of the world's estimates and His stress upon the deepest and most real things (Luke xvi. 15).

A number of passages are placed next which are very like Gospel texts and are often thought to be merely loose memory quotations of them. This is certainly possible, but some weight ought to be given to the real possibility—mentioned in the last chapter—that Jesus spoke similar words on several occasions and that different accounts of similar teaching may both be quite correct. And if the emphasis varies slightly in different cases it is obviously valuable to retain each form. This is a point which I consider has not received sufficient attention, whether as regards the differences between the Gospels or the variations in the words of Jesus as given by early writers. Every teacher or public speaker repeats much of what he says, stressing different sides of the truth on different occasions, and there is an evident likelihood that Jesus would do the same. Further, several sayings here give the complements of canonical sayings (§§ 5, 10, 12 below), which is quite what we would expect if Jesus did so repeat Himself with varying emphasis.

3. "*Be ye kind and merciful, as your Father also is kind and merciful, and maketh His sun to rise on sinners, and the righteous, and the wicked.*"

The reference here to three classes of people is of interest. At first sight it might seem that "sinners" and "wicked" were synonymous expressions, so that the double mention would be tautological and rather slipshod. But though the first word is used of social outcasts (Luke vii. 37), it was also freely applied by the scribes to all who by their standards were irreligious. "Many of the men thus branded in Capernaum were probably guilty of no worse offence than abstaining from the official piety of the Pharisees, or following proscribed occupations, or were of Gentile extraction, or merely consorted with Gentiles." [1] Read thus the triple expression is very comprehensive and equivalent to "all and sundry"; a modern version of the saying would urge that, as our Father is

[1] Swete's *Commentary on Mark*, p. 41.

good to all, so are we to be kindly and helpfully disposed to fellow-Christians, respectable non-Churchgoers, and even to social pests. Would that it were obeyed!

4. "*Have mercy, that ye may receive mercy; forgive, that it may be forgiven to you. As ye do, so shall it be done to you. As ye give, so shall it be given to you. As ye judge, so shall ye be judged. As ye show kindness, so shall kindness be shown unto you. With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured withal to you.*"

This is especially noteworthy as being from what is probably the earliest extant uncanonical Christian writing, Clement of Rome's *First Epistle*, which is generally dated about the end of the first century. At first sight it looks as if it were a free reminiscence of familiar Gospel texts, but for several reasons this hardly seems an adequate explanation of it. Only the last of the seven sayings which it includes has exactly the same significance as a canonical passage, while the third and sixth are distinctly new, differing from the Golden Rule in being promises while it is precept. Again, though the general idea of the whole paragraph, which may be called that of "commensurate judgments," occurs here and there in the Gospels (Matt. vi. 14, vii. 1; Luke vi. 38), there is no such concise and compact statement of it as this. Stanton thinks "the morality is of a less exalted character" than that to which we are accustomed in the Gospels, because of this stress on equivalent rewards and penalties.[1] But, in view of the above texts, to say that Jesus could not at times have felt this a true motive to use would surely be an extreme position to adopt. It certainly requires to be balanced by other considerations, but we cannot take the view that it had no place in His words, and if it had, this paragraph may well be due to some unknown disciple's remembrance of it faithfully handed down and fortunately preserved for us by Clement.

5. "*All things whatsoever ye would that men should not do to you, do ye not to another.*"

6. "*Bless those that curse you, and pray for your enemies; fast for those that persecute you. For what credit is there if you love those*

[1] *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, vol. i, p. 10.

that love you? Do not even the Gentiles the same? But do you love those that hate you, and you shall not have an enemy."

7. *" Abstain from fleshly and bodily lusts. If anyone give thee a blow on the right cheek, turn to him also the other, and thou shalt be perfect. If anyone compel thee to go one mile, go with him twain. If anyone take from thee thy cloak, give him thy coat also. If anyone take from thee what is thine, ask not back, for neither canst thou."*

8. *" To everyone that asketh of thee, give and ask not back; for to all the Father wills that gifts be given from His own bounties. Blessed is he who gives according to the commandment, for he is guiltless."*

These four passages are from the *Didache*, or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*—a very ancient book known from one manuscript only, which was discovered in 1875 in the library of a monastery at Constantinople. While it is not generally considered to be actually the work of the apostles themselves, it is usually thought to represent very primitive tradition regarding what they thought and taught, and to be of immense significance for the understanding of the Early Church. Though these passages are so reminiscent of the Gospels, they may well represent the way in which the teaching of Jesus upon these matters was remembered by some in the sub-apostolic age, and their variations from the Gospel parallels may be due to reliable tradition.

The negative form of the Golden Rule (§ 5) was familiar to the Jews, but in a different form from this (Tobit iv. 15), and the fact that this does so differ from that makes it probable we have here Christ's own variation of His own teaching. Two points in § 6 are important—the addition of fasting to prayer on behalf of persecutors, and the reference to the probable result of such an attitude—" ye shall not have an enemy." On this last point—which will come before us again in the next chapter—the following striking extract from Justin should be noticed: " For we ought not to strive; neither has He desired us to be imitators of wicked men, but He has exhorted us to lead all men, by patience and gentleness, from shame and the love of evil. And this indeed is proved in the case of many who have changed their violent and tyrannical disposition, being overcome either by the constancy which they have witnessed in their neighbours' lives, or by the extraordinary

forbearance they have observed in their fellow-travellers when defrauded, or by the honesty of those with whom they have transacted business." [1] The chief point of interest in § 7 is the closing phrase, which is odd and without parallel in the Gospel passages. May it not perhaps be an elliptical expression which we might paraphrase thus: "You really cannot do so; as one who is learning the way of life and love, you simply cannot stoop to such unlovely refusal"? In § 8 the middle clause is a fine expression of the goodwill of God. Resch regards it as certainly a saying of Jesus.[2] In the closing sentence there is a contrast with the thought of those who guiltily receive what they do not need (see below, § 13).

9. "*If a man send away a beggar empty from his house, the angels will not visit that house for seven nights.*"

This is the first of several sayings which well suggest the sinfulness of neglecting to do good. It is from a Mohammedan writer, but is certainly Christian in spirit; we are at once reminded of Matt. v. 42 and other passages. While there is no instance in the Gospels of such a reference to angels (unless we may think of Matt. xviii. 10 as somewhat similar), the Early Christians certainly had a distinct belief in the ministry of angels, and Heb. xiii. 2 looks like the positive side of this saying. It is quite reasonable to suppose either that they had bigger warrant for this belief from Jesus than the canonical Gospels show, or that their belief coloured some of their records of what He said. The question of what is termed "indiscriminate charity" is, of course, a large and difficult one. Here we may just remark that not to respond to need is a sure way to lose touch with spiritual realities; Isa. lviii. should be read in this connection, verses 6–11 especially. Longfellow's "Legend Beautiful" is very much to the point: "Hadst thou stayed, I must have fled." We may recall also the sweet story Carlyle tells of his boyhood—how one snowy day he gave all the hard-saved pennies of his little "earthern thrift-pot" to a wretched beggar, and "never knew before what the joy of heaven was

[1] *Apology*, i. 16. [2] P. 131.

like." We may miss that joy by an over-carefulness about only giving to such as we consider will rightly use the gift.

10. "*I say unto you that men must give an account in the day of judgment of every good word which they shall not speak.*"

This variation of Matt. xii. 36 is certainly a necessary complement to the canonical warning, whether Jesus Himself spoke it or piety drew the inference. Two similar statements must be noticed, which seem to be echoes of this or some such saying: "We know that everyone who can speak the truth, and yet speaks it not, shall be judged by God," and "Just as he who does not preach His Gospel commits a sin, because he is not obeying His instructions, so also is he who gives holy things to dogs." The two expressions "*we know that*" and "*His instructions*" appear to imply knowledge of some teaching of this kind, and increase the likelihood that Jesus did so speak, whether on the same occasion as the canonical verse or not. It is worth remembering that the only definite reference in the Gospels to the anger of Jesus (Mark iii. 5) is in connection with the sin of silence—"they held their peace." And certainly there are many different ways in which it is possible to disappoint Him thus—by not speaking words of kindly encouragement, tactful rebuke, spiritual witness, warning against pitfalls, etc. The horror of this sin at its worst is well depicted in John Oxenham's short story, "In Silence." [1]

11. "*As long as anyone has the means of doing good to his neighbours, and does not do so, he shall be reckoned a stranger to the love of God.*"

This is closely allied to the previous statement; though not actually ascribed to Jesus, it seems worth including as a possible saying for various reasons, into which it is not necessary to enter. It is obviously full of the Master's spirit. The emphasis on failing to be neighbourly is, of course, implicit in the Parable of the Good Samaritan also, of which this inevitably reminds and to which originally it may not improbably have referred. We may recall, too, that it is omission rather

[1] See *The Song of Hyacinth.*

than transgression which is so severely condemned in the Parable of the Judgment (Matt. xxv. 41–46). Again, remember the commonly neglected fact that the accurate rendering of the fifth petition in the Lord's Prayer is " Forgive us our debts," and that by adopting the word " trespasses " (following Tyndale and the Prayer Book) we have lost sight of an evident hint from Jesus as to the subtlest kind of sin. On this point Ruskin says : " Among people well educated and happily circumstanced it may easily chance that long periods of their lives may pass without any such conscious sin as could make them cry out, ' I have sinned against the Lord.' But scarcely an hour of their happy days can pass over them without leaving—were their hearts open—some evidence written there that they have ' left undone the things that they ought to have done.' " [1]

12. " *Woe to them who have not shown mercy, for there they shall not obtain mercy.*"

13. " *Woe to those that have and receive in hypocrisy, or who are able to support themselves, yet will receive of others ; for both of them shall give an account to the Lord God in the day of judgment.*"

Upon these two " woes " it must suffice to remark that, whatever the exact significance of the mingled warning and sorrow implied in this word, it occurs not infrequently in the Gospels (Matt. xi. 21, xviii. 7, xxiii. 13, xxvi. 24 ; Luke vi. 24–26). Lock [2] quaintly recommended the latter of these passages as a motto to the Charity Organisation Society !

14. " *Take heed to faith and hope, through which is engendered love towards God and man which gives eternal life.*"

The context of this saying is of special interest. It is from an ancient sermon " Concerning Paradise," which commences with the rather happy idea that we are to keep our hearts with diligence " like a paradise, not hearing the serpent that winds within, when he counsels the things that make for pleasure, whereby is engendered the wrath that slays a brother, and the soul that brings it forth perishes." And then in contrast we

[1] *Letters to the Clergy*, p. 38. [2] *Expositor*, January 1894.

are bidden hear the Lord speak thus. Various of the men of faith (Heb. xi.) are then mentioned as having entered and kept this paradise pure during their earthly lives—an unusual but suggestive teaching. These " three theological virtues," as they are sometimes called, are linked in 1 Cor. xiii. 13, 1 Thess. i. 3, and elsewhere in the New Testament and by early writers, but nowhere quite in this way or order. There is no Gospel example, but it seems probable that Jesus did group them together on some occasion and so give rise to these various teachings ; in which case, as this is the only one that is ascribed to Him, it may possibly be authentic and the fountain-head of the rest.

15. *" Cleave to the holy, for those that cleave to them shall themselves be made holy."*

The principle underlying this is the vitally important one of the contagion of character. The supreme example and proof of it, of course, is in the life of Jesus. Remember how sinful men gradually found their evil desires silenced in His presence (Mark ix. 34) and later on altogether purged from them. One would like to feel, then, that He may Himself have thus forcibly declared the truth regarding influence and sanctification, but whether He did or not, the words certainly express an integral element in His Church's life and one that is full of insistent challenge to His followers and of immense hope for the ungodly.

16. *" Thou hast seen thy brother ; thou hast seen thy Lord."*

These words beautifully express the thought of the close link between God and His children, so that deeds done to them are known and felt by Him. This is not infrequently found in the New Testament (Mark ix. 37 ; Heb. xi. 2, for example), and is most wonderfully taught by Jesus in the passage where both His own thought of Himself reaches its loftiest exaltation and the fact of His relationship to men and women finds its unique expression (Matt. xxv. 31–46). There are two sides to this truth—warning and encouragement. It bids us beware, for in hurting or neglecting others we are harming God Him-

self; everyone upon whom we cast a look of anger or unbrotherly indifference is a child of God, made in His own image. So Paul was taught to see in the face of those he persecuted the Lord Himself (Acts ix. 5). But it is also a word of cheer, for it tells how easily God is to be found. We may link it with the words of Novalis: "We touch heaven when we lay our hand on a human body." [1]

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2. Jerome, *Commentary on Ezekiel*, at xviii. 7 (cp. Ropes, 24).
3. Justin, *Apology*, i. 15 (see A.N. ii).
4. Clement (Rome), *First Epistle*, 13 (see Ropes, 49).
5. *Didache*, 1 (cp. *H.D.B.*, v, pp. 439, 445).
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Margoliouth, 13.
10. See the *Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels*, by Mrs. A. S. Lewis, Introduction, p. xiv.
11. A fragment from Irenæus (see A.N. ix, p. 161).
12. Ephraem Syrus, *Sermon on Compunction* (cp. Griffinhoofe, p. 113).
13. *Apostolic Constitutions*, iv. 3 (see A.N. xvii).
14. Macarius, *Homilies*, xxxvii. 1 (see A. J. Mason's edition).
15. Clement (Rome), *First Epistle*, 46 (see A.N. i).
16. Tertullian, *On Prayer*, 26 (cp. Griffinhoofe, p. 93).

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[1] Quoted by Carlyle in the early pages of *Heroes*.

CHAPTER VIII

OF THE WAY OF PRAYER—A LITTLE GROUP OF HELPFUL SAYINGS

PRAYER is very close to the heart of the Gospel, not merely because of the example and precept of Jesus, but because " the first commandment of all " (Mark xii. 30) implies it. We are not surprised, then, to find a number of uncanonical sayings regarding it.

1. *" Devotion is of ten parts. Nine of them consist in silence and one in solitude."*

Some doubt attaches to this opening passage—from a Mohammedan writer—because it is also attributed elsewhere to someone else. But this need not necessarily mean that the ascription to Jesus is incorrect ; it is not at all unlikely that Moslem preachers might seek to gain kudos for themselves or for their revered teachers by putting forth traditional sayings of Jesus as theirs, not His. The significance of the words is that, though solitude is an aid to devotion (Mark i. 35 ; Luke vi. 12, xxii. 41), it is not the primary consideration. The first and chief necessity is a right poise of soul, an attitude of alertness to God and His inner voice, a silent waiting for the fresh vision and the new strength that always come to those who sincerely echo Samuel's desire : " Speak, Lord, for Thy servant heareth." We are reminded of Ps. xlvi. 10, but the emphasis in the first half of the Lord's Prayer upon remembrance of God and reverent submission to His will really amounts to the same thing. It is good to enter one's inner chamber and close the door literally, but it is of far greater importance to silence " the murmurs of self-will " and to shut out all tempting suggestions, not merely of sin, but of lesser good.

2. *" First must the one who prayeth, who offereth his prayer, well consider his gift to see whether there be any spot found in it, and then shall he offer it, that his offering remain not upon the earth."*

I do not think this is merely a paraphrase of Matt. v. 23, 24, as has sometimes been thought. Not only are the words completely different, but the canonical text is correctly quoted by the same writer a few chapters earlier in quite another connection. It is certainly closely akin to it in spirit ; both give an urgent call to self-examination before private or public worship. But while the canonical passage teaches that right brotherly relations are necessary as a preparation for real devotion, this has a wider reference, and reminds us that unless we are " unspotted from the world " (James i. 27) our prayers cannot prevail ; we may recall § 5 in Chapter VI.

Two variations from the usual form of the Lord's Prayer come next. Their attestation may not seem strong, but when we remember that the two canonical versions of the Prayer differ not a little according to the earliest MSS., we cannot rule out the possibility that such teaching was repeated on different occasions and not in exactly the same form each time ; if that is so, there is surely a presumption in favour of other variations than those between Matthew and Luke having been remembered here or there and handed down. It is difficult to think of Jesus as teaching by rote and being greatly concerned about the exact words. " After this manner " (Matt. vi. 9) suggests that the Prayer was intended to be the model upon which all prayer should be framed, not the precise phrasing that was always to be adopted, and His teaching would naturally, therefore, vary in details according to the circumstances and the particular group under instruction. These additions may, therefore, very possibly be from our Lord's own lips.

3. *" After this manner pray ye : Let Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us."*

4. *" After this manner pray ye : Do not suffer us to be led into temptation, such as we cannot endure."*

This petition for the purifying presence of God's Spirit is most beautifully and concisely expressed, and when known by Christian disciples usually passes at once into the regular phraseology of prayer. It is found in a number of writings at Luke xi. 2, in some cases substituted for the first, in some for the second petition of the Prayer. This reading is known

to have been used by Marcion—an unorthodox writer of the early second century—and Hamlyn Hill [1] makes an interesting suggestion regarding this. He refers to the idea sometimes held to-day that Luke issued two editions of both his books, and thinks that Marcion probably used an early copy in which the words occurred. He mentions the possibility that Marcion might have had access to early writings because he lived at Sinope in Pontus, of which place the first bishop is said to have been Paul's friend Philologus (Rom. xvi. 15). He suggests that Luke's reason for the change into the Matthean form in his revised edition was that by the time he issued this the Prayer was becoming generally accepted in that form. Certainly Luke xi. 13 is much more appropriate if these words stand in verse 2.

As regards the two variations introduced into the petition, "Lead us not into temptation," the same general considerations hold good. They seem to have been in use quite early, and it is perfectly possible that they may be authentic, though not an original part of either Gospel version of the Prayer. One can easily imagine how thay may have arisen—perhaps some puzzled disciple questioned Jesus about a phrase which has perplexed many in every age because of its seeming suggestion that but for our prayers God might lead into temptation and Himself be our tempter. In response to such a difficulty, this simpler form might very naturally be suggested, and yet the Church hold lovingly to her Lord's stronger and more arresting original utterance. The two apostolic explanations of this matter (1 Cor. x. 13; James i. 13) would in that case probably imply knowledge of this saying.

I have prefixed explanatory words to each of these two sayings to remind that they are part of Christ's teaching about prayer and not part of His own prayer.

5. *"Ask for the great things and the small shall be added to you; ask for the heavenly things, and the earthly shall be added to you."*

This is, of course, allied to Matt. vi. 33, but seems more likely to be an independent teaching on some other occasion

[1] *The Gospel of the Lord*, Introduction, p. vii.

than merely a free quotation of that text. It should be read in close connection with the passages in Chapter VI (§§ 8–12), which deal with the contrast between the better way of trustful confidence in God and the poorer life of anxious care. To set one's mind on the things that are above (Col. iii. 1, 2) does not mean that the lower needs will not be met. For if we put first things first we are helped to know how far and in what ways we are to be concerned about bodily necessities (Acts xviii. 3, xx. 34 ; 1 Thess. ii. 9). And further, the more we live in touch with God, the more sure shall we be that He has illimitable resources and the more qualified shall we become to call upon them ; by strange paths He can send help to those whose concentration on holy things has made them fit to receive such proof of His providence. The experiences of George Müller of Bristol and of Hudson Taylor and his friends in the China Inland Mission are perhaps the best known in this connection, though there are many other examples.[1] It is my conviction that this great truth has been strangely neglected in the Church, and that a new grasp of it is an essential preparation for the coming of the Kingdom.

6. *" Pray for your enemies. Blessed are they who mourn for the perdition of unbelievers."*

7. *" Pray for your enemies, for he that is not against you is with you, and he that to-day is afar off shall to-morrow be near you."*

8. *" He who asks from God pardon for those who have done him injury puts an veil spirit to flight."*

The first of these three passages in which prayer for foes is taught of course recalls Matt. v. 44, but is quite distinct. It should be noticed that the command to pray implies that the word rendered " perdition " carries no suggestion of irremediable debasement and inevitable doom. So Jesus bade the disciples pray when He sent them out to gather " the lost sheep of the house of Israel " (Matt. ix. 36, x. 6). We may compare also Luke xv., where the word " lost " occurs four times, but the whole message is one of hope, and Luke xix. 10,

[1] See, for instance, a story told by Doddridge and recorded in the Scottish *Monthly Visitor*, May 1921. Miss Dougall's essay in *The Spirit*, entitled " God in Action," is well worth studying in this connection ; notice especially the story she narrates on p. 39 and her explanation of it.

where "lost" Zacchæus was found. The following passage is an Oxyrhynchus saying from a much-torn fragment of papyrus. The first half is fairly certain, and provides us with a new grouping of familiar texts (Luke vi. 27, 28, ix. 50, etc.); the last clause is more doubtful, the clear words being "afar off," "to-morrow" and "shall be," but this reconstruction suggested by Grenfell and Hunt seems likely to be fairly correct. They give the sense of the passage thus: "Pray for your enemies, for they may be in truth friends, or if they are not now, they may soon become such." It is perhaps worth while to suggest that the efficacy of prayer seems to be implied here—a point which their paraphrase does not make quite clear; we are to include enemies in our prayers, not because at a later time they may be amongst our friends and we should not like then to remember that we had ever excluded them from our intercessions, but rather in order that by our prayers those whose opposition is more in appearance than actuality may be led to declare themselves with us, while those whose enmity is real and who are indeed "afar off" may presently be drawn into fellowship and "made nigh" (Eph. ii. 13). It is interesting to find the latter part of this saying in Barnes' *Companion to Bible Studies* as one of the only nine agrapha considered worthy of quotation. A Mohammedan passage is added (§ 8) as also valuable for its emphasis on the effectiveness of such prayer; it is closely akin to the words commented on in the last chapter (§ 6), "ye shall not have an enemy." We may recall not only that Christ's own prayer for His murderers has exerted an enduring influence, but that Stephen's similar petition surely shared in the whole effect of his martyrdom upon Paul (Acts vii. 60, viii. 1, xxii. 20) and helped to put his evil spirit to flight.[1]

9. *Christ Himself has said that He will not hear the negligent and forgetful man's prayers.*

This is the first of several remarkable agrapha found only in English—or, rather, in Anglo-Saxon; others will be before us later in our study. They occur in a series of tenth-century

[1] For modern instances of this conquering power of loving prayer, see *The Arm of God*, by E. and R. Dunkerley, pp. 118, 121.

Homilies, which evidently had some earlier records not now extant behind them. They have never hitherto been studied in any book on this subject.[1] This one might possibly be a loose reference to Luke xiii. 25, but is to me more like a negative counterpart of John xiv. 14. It recalls various Old Testament passages (Prov. i. 28 ; Isa. i. 15), but the emphasis on " Christ Himself " suggests some other source than these ; a truth is certainly enshrined within it.

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3. Greek MS. 700 in Gregory's list (see Ropes, 9).
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5. Origen, *On Prayer*, ii. 14 (see Ropes, 57).
6. Syriac *Didascalia*, 21 (see Mrs. M. D. Gibson's edition).
7. Oxyrhynchus Papyri, 1224 (as translated by G.H.).
8. Asin, 33.
9. See R. Morris' *Blickling Homilies*, v.

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[1] See my article in *Expositor*, April 1925.

CHAPTER IX

OF HOW JESUS WENT ABOUT DOING GOOD

THE next group of passages deals with the public ministry of Jesus, and together they give us a glimpse of Him busy amongst the people—teaching, conversing, helping, healing, rebuking, suggesting, ever intent upon the work of leading men into the will of God. All but the last are closely connected in one way or another with the Gospels, and appear to me to give interesting and valuable side-lights on the story. The last clearly has legendary elements in it, but may also include a germ of fact, as it certainly does a seed of truth.

1. *And seeing one working on the Sabbath, He said to him : " Man, if thou knowest what thou doest, blessed art thou. But if thou knowest not, thou art accursed and a transgressor of the law."*

This is the passage referred to in the Introduction [1] as being commonly considered authentic, though the evidence for it is very slender. This should make us very hesitant about rejecting anything that has the spirit of Christ merely because of seemingly weak attestation. A thousand influences may have united to keep us in complete ignorance of something that did actually take place or to let us only know of it through a single and perhaps apparently unworthy channel.

It is not difficult to see why it was ignored by the Gospel writers and soon forgotten by the Church. The word " accursed " might easily seem unlike Jesus, though, of course, He is not represented as cursing, but simply as stating the fact that the law cursed such transgressors,[2] and, moreover, it is not really un-Christian to feel that we come under God's condemnation when we neglect whatever measure of His will is known to us (Matt. xxv. 41 ; Gal. i. 8, iii. 10). But the bigger reason why this saying dropped out of notice probably is that

[1] See p. 15.
[2] See Deut. xxvii. 26 and the incident narrated in Num. xv. 32–36.

the Sabbath regulations very soon came to be regarded by Christians as abrogated, the happy fellowship of the Lord's Day being a vastly different thing. Driver says: "It was only after the third century, and even then only gradually, that the Christian and the Jewish institutions were confused and that tendencies towards 'Sabbatarianism' began." [1] To-day, when this misunderstanding of Christian liberty (Gal. v. 1) still persists, and when in reaction against such narrowness there is very commonly an utter disregard of the "first of days," it should be valuable to rescue this saying from oblivion. To keep a quiet day, free from everyday work and ways, yet unselfishly serving others if need be—this is to share with Jesus the blessedness of God (John v. 17). To neglect the divinely planned "halt"—appointed not so much in the Decalogue as in the laws and necessities of our nature—this is still to be under the ban and to miss the rich joy of His presence and approval.

2. (*a*) *The man who had his hand withered entreated help thus: "I was a mason, seeking sustenance by my hands; I beseech Thee, Jesus, that thou restore me health, that I may not shamefully beg for food."*

(*b*) *The Christ said to them: "What is it right to do on the Sabbath day, to do good or evil? that life should be saved or destroyed?" They said: "Nay, let us do good on the Sabbath and let life be saved." The Christ said to them: "Ye speak truly." Then He said to him that had the withered hand: "I say unto thee, Stretch forth thy hand"; and he stretched it forth, and, behold, it was like his other hand.*

Though from different sources, these passages refer to the same Gospel incident. In the first some interesting information is given about the man which might very easily have been omitted for reasons of space or apparent lack of interest, but which to us gives colour and contour to the picture. Notice, too, that it changes the incident from one in which Jesus takes the initiative, to one in which He responds to appeal; while examples of both types of healing, of course, occur in the Gospels (John v. 6 and Mark ii. 3, etc.), those of the latter class undoubtedly predominate. Griffinhoofe calls attention to the man's dread of becoming one of the crowd of professional beggars, so familiar in the East, and to his desire to earn

[1] *H.D.B.*, iv, p. 322.

his own living.[1] This suggests the modern application of the story. The other passage differs from the canonical versions of the story in stating that the onlookers answered Christ's questions and expressed agreement with His views. This may seem inconsistent with their antagonism, which each of the Synoptics mentions; but if we stress the word "speak" in our Lord's reply here, we get a rather striking suggestion of their duplicity and His apprehension of it. It is perhaps a more likely attitude for them to adopt than silence, about which Mark alone is explicit.

3. *When message was brought Him, "Behold Thy mother and Thy brethren stand without," He said: "Who is My mother and brethren? And He stretched out His hand over the disciples, and said: "These are My brethren and mother, that do the wishes of My Father."*

This version of a familiar narrative has one variant, because of which I have included it here—the plural "wishes" for the usual "will." While I have no doubt that the general abstract statement is really the finer and more original expression of Christ's meaning, this form of the saying appears to me to give a concrete and valuable suggestion, however it arose; it seems to make the matter more individual. A vague idea of being in harmony with the will of God may more readily co-exist with mistaken judgment and immoral conduct (John xvi. 2) than can a personal sense of obeying particular details of His will. That He does so make His wishes known in detail to those who seek for such direction is shown alike by the story of the Early Church (Acts xvi. 6–10, etc.) and by Christian biography in all ages. See, for example, many instances in the life of Stephen Grellet. To do God's will by thus carrying out His wishes is, as Jesus said, to share His divine Sonship and to be His brother.

4. *And there came a leper to Him, beseeching Him, and saying: "If Thou will, Thou canst make me clean." And being angry, He put forth His hand, and touched him, and saith unto him: "I will, be thou clean." And immediately the leprosy departed from him, and he was cleansed. And He charged him in anger, and forthwith cast him out, and saith unto him: "See thou tell it not to any man, but go away, show thyself*

[1] P. 34.

to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing those things which Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them." But he went out, and began to publish and to blaze abroad the matter; insomuch that He could no more openly enter into the city, but was without in desert places; and they came to Him from every quarter.

The story of the leper (Mark i. 40–45) is included here because of the remarkable variation "being angry" for the canonical "being moved with compassion." At first sight this is not an attractive reading; the other seems to fit in much better with our conception of the kindness of Jesus. But there are strong reasons for thinking that it may represent a true tradition and the original form of the story. In the corresponding verses of Matthew (viii. 3) and Luke (v. 13) the clause is omitted—there is no statement that Jesus was either angry or moved with compassion. But these two books are clearly proved to have been written in literary dependence upon Mark; their writers used it as their primary source and modified it as they felt right, according to the regular method of writing history long ago. Now, it is extremely unlikely that they would have omitted such a statement as "being moved with compassion" if they found it in the book on which they were basing their own works; it is exactly the sort of touch in which Luke especially delighted. On the other hand, it is altogether probable that if they found a reference to anger they would either soften it down somehow or omit it; they actually do so shortly afterwards in a similar verse (Mark iii. 5; see Matt. xii. 13; Luke vi. 10). Their silence here therefore strongly suggests that the original form of Mark contained this seemingly harsh statement.[1]

Now, what is the explanation of the reading if it be genuine? It is usually regarded as too mystifying to warrant much consideration, as though it were obviously out of place. I would suggest, on the other hand, that it is extraordinarily appropriate to the scene and accords absolutely with what we should expect from Jesus under the circumstances. We should notice what follows. "He charged him in anger, and forthwith cast him out" is our translator's rendering of what even in the A.V. is very strong language. Swete paraphrases the first

[1] See Rendel Harris' article in *Expositor*, October 1922.

clause thus: "He gave him a stern injunction" (cp. R.V. margin), and speaks of the second as implying "a summary dismissal" and "at least some pressure and urgency."[1] Jesus bade the man immediately make an offering in accordance with the wise health regulations of the law, and so be publicly notified as clean, and meanwhile not tell others what had happened. The point of all this is surely made quite clear by two details in Luke's narrative—the incident took place "in one of the cities" and the man was "full of leprosy." As J. A. Findlay says: "This helps us to understand the anger of Jesus, for the man was a public danger in the crowded streets. The leper, who was afflicted with a very contagious form of the disease, was disregarding all sanitary regulations—that he should not come into town or village—and Jesus sharply bids him obey the law in future."[2] When we observe further that the man disobeyed Jesus, both as regards His strict command to keep silent about what had happened and about the offering, we have a clue to his spiritual condition, and can well suppose that Jesus read his character as soon as He saw his selfish, thoughtless approach. Lastly, the effect of the man's wilfulness is shown in the desire and determination of other lepers to obtain healing also, and the necessary withdrawal of Jesus for awhile from busy thoroughfares—a result which I think He had fully anticipated and against which He had endeavoured to guard. If His command had been obeyed, and the man had gone to Jerusalem to offer Temple sacrifice, sufficient delay would have been caused to make a rush of lepers unlikely. Jesus had pity for them, but He had come on a larger mission than that of healing; at the same time He could not have lepers mingling with and possibly infecting others; when, therefore, His precautions were rendered ineffective, there was no course open but temporarily to retire and regretfully to accept the hindrance to His real work.

Surely read thus the passage is entirely in accord with the portrait we have of Jesus. Compassion for physical need was not His deepest feeling for men. We should notice that at Mark iii. 5 anger is again attributed to Him, and again it is because of the careless indifference and selfish hardness of men's

[1] *Commentary on St. Mark.* [2] *Jesus as they saw Him*, p. 157.

hearts, though in a different connection. Again also withdrawal followed and His work was hampered (iii. 7). Anger is not absent from the noblest characters; it is entirely consonant with infinite mercy; and that which obstructed Christ's hope of the Kingdom upon earth rightly encountered "the wrath of the Lamb." The story, then, is a harmonious whole when this reading is adopted—in fact, it is far more so than in the usual version. Without the reference to anger the absence of a needed rebuke to the man is inexplicable. It is the accepted reading which requires defence.

5. *The Lord declared to those who showed themselves ungrateful towards Him: "If ye have not been faithful in that which is little, who will give you that which is great?"*

Though this is akin to Luke xvi. 10–12, there is no clause exactly like it there, nor any suggestion of thanklessness as here. It may have been connected with some particular incident such as that of the nine lepers (Luke xvii. 17), or have referred in quite a general way to the ingratitude and refusal which caused Jesus such sorrow (Matt. xi. 20–24). In either case the words are significant and worth retaining. Failure in the little courtesies and kindnesses of life is a sign of unfitness for the higher responsibilities of service; ungracious conduct disqualifies for stewardship of the divine grace.

6. *Jesus passed by a man who was afflicted with many ills, but was saying: "Praise be to God who has kept me free from that wherewith He has afflicted many of His creatures." Jesus said unto him: "Sir, what form of affliction is that which has been kept away from thee?" He answered: "O Spirit of God, I am better off than those into whose hearts God has not put that knowledge of Himself which He has put into mine." Jesus said: "Thou hast spoken truly; stretch out thine hand." He gave his hand and straightway became the fairest and best-looking of men, for God had healed him of his afflictions. So he became a disciple of Jesus, and devoted himself with Him to the service of God.*

This Moslem story is consistent with the Gospels in that healing follows faith, for though no expectation of cure is suggested, surely praise under such a load is faith at its best. This makes a happy contrast to the selfishness and thanklessness mentioned in the last two passages, and though there is

no close parallel in the Gospels, one would like to think it authentic and that Jesus did meet such a happy sufferer. One often finds such faith to-day—folks speaking of their many blessings though to all appearances life is a grievous burden. I have paraphrased a description of the man's various afflictions into the statement "afflicted with many ills"; that catalogue of diseases, the phrase "O Spirit of God," and the statement that the invalid became the "fairest and best-looking of men" are, of course, just such legendary accretions as we should expect would grow around an incident of this kind.

REFERENCES.

1. Codex Bezae, substituted for Luke vi. 5 (see Ropes, 7).
2. (*a*) Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew*, at xii. 13 (see Nicholson, p. 46).
   (*b*) *On the Triune Nature of God* (see Mrs. M. D. Gibson's edition, p. 27).
3. Epiphanius, *Heresies*, xxx. 14 (see Nicholson, p. 46).
4. Codex Bezae (see Whiston's translation).
5. Irenæus, *Against Heresies*, ii. 34 (see A.N. v).
6. Margoliouth, 67, slightly varied.

CHAPTER X

OF A CERTAIN KINDLY DEED, TEACHING A LESSON IN KINDNESS

THE following beautiful little story next claims our attention:

It happened that the Lord went forth from the city and walked with His disciples over the mountains. And they came to a mountain, and the road which led to it was steep. There they found a man with a sumpter-mule. But the animal had fallen, for the burden was too heavy, and he beat it, that it bled. And Jesus came to him and said: "Man, why dost thou beat thy animal? Seest thou not that it is too weak for its burden, and knowest thou not that it suffers pains?" But the man answered and said: "What is that to you? I can beat it as much as I please, since it is my property, and I bought it for a good sum of money. Ask those that are with Thee, for they know me and know thereof." And some of the disciples said: "Yea, Lord, it is as he says. We have seen how he bought it." But the Lord said: "Do you not notice how it bleeds, and hear you not how it laments and cries?" But they answered and said: "Nay, Lord, we hear not that it laments and cries." And the Lord was sad, and exclaimed: "Woe to you, that ye hear not how it complains to the Creator in heaven and cries for mercy. But three times woe to him of whom it complains and cries in its distress." And He came forth and touched the animal. And it arose and its wounds were healed. And Jesus said to the man: "Now, go on and beat it no more, that you also may find mercy."

There is unfortunately considerable mystery surrounding this narrative. It was included some years ago by a German writer, Julius Boehmer, in a collection of Early Christian parallels to the New Testament. He drew it from an earlier writer, but failed to trace its history owing to the latter's death. The only account of it he could find was a statement that it came from a Coptic Bible MS. preserved in the Paris Library. Investigation there proved unsuccessful, but it is hardly likely that it would occur in a copy of the Bible. It is generally considered to be an extract from some Coptic apocryphal work, of which there are many in existence.

The only version in English that I know of is this of Pick's,

whose only comment, however, is that it "may be considered as a parallel to the parable of the good Samaritan."[1] This seems rather inadequate, for surely there is at least a chance that a real incident underlies the narrative. If various points urged in these pages are sound—as, for example, that a single obscure witness may preserve an authentic detail or anecdote—then this possibility should not be ruled out here without very careful consideration.

Notice, first of all, that the story is entirely congruous with the Gospel portrait of Jesus, and exactly what we should expect Him to do under the circumstances. If God is concerned when a sparrow falls to the ground (Matt. x. 29), it is not surprising that Jesus should feel sorry when a mule fell. Observe, too, how it accords with the beautiful incident narrated in the next chapter of the dead dog, for whom Jesus had a kindly word. I feel inclined to say about each of these stories what Rendel Harris said about one of the Moslem sayings, "It must be true!"[2]

The next point requires rather fuller argument. Little regard seems to have been paid to animal life in the Early Church; humanitarianism of this sort is a comparatively late development in Christian ethics. Lecky says that Plutarch urged the duty of kindness to animals with an emphasis "to which no adequate parallel can, I believe, be found in the Christian writings for at least seventeen hundred years." Further, he contrasts the Old Testament and the New Testament in this respect: "This is indeed the one form of humanity which appears more prominently in the Old Testament than in the New."[3] It is difficult to escape the conclusion that he is right and that the reasons he advances (which lie outside our subject, however) go far to explain this fact, at first sight so strange. There are no parallels to Matt. x. 29 in the Epistles, and the neglect of the subject is only made greater by 1 Cor. ix. 9. It is true that many contend Paul did not actually mean what he appears to state there—that God has *no* concern for oxen and that the commands in the law concerning animals were not given for their own sakes alone; it is urged that of course God cares

[1] P. 58. [2] See p. 130. [3] *History of European Morals*, ch. iv.

for all, and that the apostle merely felt that the precept was given partly in the interests of mankind. But whatever the exegesis of that passage, it is evident that kindness to animals was not a sufficiently real idea amongst the Christians of the first few centuries for it to have much place in their writings. Hardly any passages can be found ; one in Clement of Alexandria [1] deals with the matter, but much after the manner of Paul, finding the chief reason for kindness to animals in various lessons or benefits to men. In view of all this, surely we may say that there would be every likelihood that such a story as this would fall out of notice ; and similarly there would be very little likelihood that it would be invented.

Again, the absence of legendary accretions is surely very significant ; it would only be in line with the usual tendency of apocryphal writings if most marvellous things had been described—the mule taking part in the conversation and so forth. We may recall the stories of how St. Francis preached to the birds and St. Antony to the fishes, and how each had a reverent and evidently receptive audience.

The Christ-like spirit of the deed, then, the common neglect of such morality, and the restraint in the manner of the narrative, all suggest that this is a true story of a real incident, and a glimpse which we could ill spare of the Jesus of history.

The nearest parallel from modern life is perhaps the story of Lord Shaftesbury leading the costers to care for their donkeys. But there are many ways in which the message of the incident has not yet been learnt and in which its spirit is not being shown. There are not wanting, for example, people who regard natives as mere animals, fit only to be treated as such ; it is, of course, a foul lie, but even if it were true it would not settle the question of treatment, as this story reminds us.

REFERENCE.

Julius Boehmer's *Neutestamentliche Parallelen und Verwandte aus altchristlicher Literatur*, p. 25 (see Pick, p. 58).

[1] *Miscellanies*, ii. 18.

CHAPTER XI

OF SUNDRY QUESTIONS AND INCIDENTS

THIS and the next two chapters are entirely made up of extracts from Moslem writings, with some comment upon them. Here I have collected a number of little conversations, in the next a series of allied statements upon worldliness and the avoidance of it, while Chapter XIII consists of one longer story.

1. *Some said to Jesus: "Teach us some doctrine, for which God will love us." Jesus said: "Hate the world, and God will love you."*

In common with most of the Moslem sayings, the unworldly aspect of the Gospel is emphasised here. It finds many parallels in the Gospels, chiefly in John (xii. 25, xvii. 9, 15, xviii. 36) and in the Epistles (Rom. xii. 2; James iv. 4; 1 John ii. 15). There is, of course, no contradiction here to the thought of the beauty of the world of Nature (Matt. vi. 29), nor to the truth that "God loved the world" of men (John iii. 16). "World" is one of those over-worked words, the particular connotation of which, however, in any context is usually sufficiently clear. Nor is Jesus unlikely to have used the word "hate" in such a connection, for on another occasion He said: "If any man cometh unto Me, and hateth not his own father and mother . . . he cannot be My disciple" (Luke xiv. 26). The only real difficulty about the passage is the half-suggestion that God's love for us is dependent upon our acknowledging Him and accepting His teaching, whereas in reality it is prior to any response we make (Rom. v. 8) and is the constraining influence to such a way of life (1 John iv. 19). But in view of the fact that Jesus obviously expected intelligence in His hearers, and frequently spoke in hyperbole—as in the passage from Luke quoted above—to stir thought, this cannot be considered impossible. And further, it is not, of course,

suggested that these sayings from Mohammedan sources have been uninfluenced by the channels through which they have come to us. It is the general sense rather than the exact phrasing that may be from Jesus.

2. *It was said to Jesus: "Show us some work whereby to enter paradise." He replied: "Speak not at all." They said: "We cannot do this." He said: "Then only say what is good."*

3. *Jesus was asked: "What is the best of works?" He answered: "With grateful soul to submit oneself to the divine will and to love God."*

4. *The apostles asked Jesus: "Who may be said to do a good work uprightly and without any pretence?" He answered: "He who does a good work for God without desire that he should be praised by anyone for it."*

5. *Jesus said: "Strive earnestly for something which fire cannot devour." They said: "What is that?" He answered: "Kindness."*

I do not feel much confidence in the authenticity of these passages. The query in § 2 corresponds to that in Luke x. 25, but the answer is obviously less vital. So, too, in § 3 we are near to Mark xii. 28–30—the mention of gratitude, however, striking a new note—but the absence of any reference to neighbourly love is a defect. With § 4 compare the passages in Matt. vi, where the hypocrisy of doing right things to "be seen of men" is condemned, while § 5 is, of course, reminiscent of Matt. vi. 19, 20, with Matt. iii. 10, vii. 19 in the background. It would not have surprised us at all if the Matthew text had occurred in Luke with the peril of destruction by fire substituted for the reference to moth, rust and thieves (cp. Luke's "ravens" for "birds," xii. 24). We should then have urged that similar teaching had been given on different occasions, and the same explanation is possible here. As a symbol of God's destruction of evil fire is, of course, very familiar to us, but 1 Cor. iii. 13 should be especially noted, with its stress on the salvation of those whose works are thus destroyed. Kindness is not specified in the above Gospel passage as heavenly treasure, though it is obviously implied; the reference to it here is noteworthy in view of the absence in § 3 of any precept regarding neighbourliness.

The next few passages give instruction about good and

kindly speech, and urge the importance of care in this respect. There are not many words of Jesus regarding this matter (Matt. v. 22, xii. 36, 37); and it may well be that the emphasis in James iii. 2–12 is a sign that Jesus dealt more with it than we have been aware.

6. *A swine passed near to Jesus, and He said to it: "Go in peace." It was objected: "O Spirit of God, sayest thou so to a swine?" He answered: "I would not teach my tongue shameful words."*

The idea of oddity about this and the feeling that Jesus would be unlikely to speak thus is largely dispelled when we try to imagine the occasion and to picture the scene. If, as is exceedingly possible, one or other of the disciples had made some slighting reference to someone who passed by, how natural it would be for Jesus to rebuke and guide to sweeter manners by such a remark as this. We are accustomed to the use He made of familiar sights to suggest spiritual truth; remember especially how He called a child to His side when the disciples had been squabbling (Mark ix. 33–37). This seems to me an incident of just that kind.

7. *He one day walked with His apostles, and they passed by the carcase of a dog. The apostles said: "How foul is the smell of this dog!" But Jesus said: "How white are its teeth!"*

This passage is of much the same sort and spirit as the last; it is both the best known and one of the most beautiful of the Moslem stories about Jesus. The old Persian poet, Nizami, who lived in the twelfth century, wrote a poem upon it, though it was current centuries before his day. There is an English translation, of which the last few lines are as follows:

"Detested creature! he pollutes the earth and air!
His eyes are blear! His ears are foul! His ribs are bare!
In his torn hide there's not a decent shoe-string left!
No doubt the execrable cur was hung for theft!"
Then Jesus spake and dropped on him this saving wreath:
"Even pearls are dark before the whiteness of his teeth!"[1]

We have next what seems to me an effective warning against gossip and unbrotherly tale-bearing.

[1] See Claud Field's *Mystics and Saints of Islam*, p. 210.

8. *Jesus said to the apostles: "How would you do if you saw your brother sleeping, and the wind had lifted up his garment?" They said: "We would cover him up." He said: "Nay, ye would uncover him." They said: "God forbid! Who would do this?" He said: "One of you who hears a word concerning his brother, and adds to it, and relates it with additions."*

The illustration is exceedingly clever—"sleeping" suggests the ignorance of the man regarding what people are saying; the "wind" well typifies the uncertain and often quite innocent origin of these unhappy murmurs; while the deliberate uncovering aptly represents the careless and unkindly development of the tale. Moreover, the disciples' belief that they would act rightly and their remonstrance at the opposite suggestion are very true to life. None of us think that we gossip!

9. *He passed by certain of the Jews who spake evil to Him; but He spake good to them in return. It was said to Him: "Verily these speak ill unto Thee, and dost Thou speak good?" He said: "Each gives out of his store."*

This may also, I think, be based upon an actual event. The incident of the inhospitable village (Luke ix. 52-55) might occasion such a conversation as this, and in the course of transmission the connection with the Samaritans would be forgotten. It, of course, also accords well with Matt. xii. 34, 35 and Luke vi. 28, 45, and other passages.

10. *As Jesus passed by the seaside, He saw some fullers at work, and said to them: "Ye cleanse these clothes, but cleanse not your hearts." Upon which they believed in Him.*

The Arabic word for "apostles" has been commonly derived, we are told, from a root meaning "to be white," and amongst other explanations of the title it was said that they were fullers, and this story was told. If the Jallalo'ddin mentioned by Sale [1] as telling this story is the famous Persian poet Jalaluddin, who lived in the thirteenth century, an interesting possibility presents itself; for he spent most of his life at Iconium, where some apostolic traditions may well

[1] See reference below.

have long lingered, and this might account for the many Christian touches in his poems.[1] But even if the story is not authentic, it at least has this point of interest—that the method of calling the disciples is very like that described in Mark i. 17, a link between their occupation and spiritual truth being tactfully and skilfully found. It reminds rather irresistibly of Joel ii. 13, "Rend your heart and not your garments." Such plays upon words are common in Eastern speech, and we are bound to feel it is quite what Jesus might have said. If it is only fiction, it is at any rate good fiction. The error of attending more to outer cleanliness than to inner is, of course, frequently exposed in the Gospels (Matt. xv. 1–10, xxiii. 25–28) and very forcefully in the passage quoted in Chapter XVI here.

REFERENCES.

1. Margoliouth, 44.
2. Asin, 25.
3. Ibid., 91.
4. Ibid., 94.
5. Ibid., 51.
6. Ibid., 28.
7. Margoliouth, 33.
8. Ibid., 17.
9. Ibid., 34.
10. Sale's *Koran*, 3 (footnote).

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[1] See Field (op. cit.), pp. 159, 211.

CHAPTER XII

OF WORLDLINESS AND ITS WOES, AND OF THE PATH PILGRIMS SHOULD TREAD

As in the last chapter, passages from Moslem sources are gathered here. The general theme—worldliness and the folly of it—undoubtedly had a place in the teaching of Jesus; we may notice especially John xvii. 14, 15, a passage which I am not prepared to dismiss easily as "Johannine." [1] In spirit and essential significance, then, these passages are akin to the Gospels; but it must be again remembered that if they enshrine genuine elements, the media through which they have travelled to us have without a doubt influenced their form and phrasing very considerably. This may largely account for the less familiar note in these sayings.

At the same time there is occasionally an aptness and conciseness of expression which one would like to think authentic; some of them put aspects of the truth extremely well—so well, in fact, that once we have heard and pondered them they almost inevitably enter into our religious vocabulary. They have just that quality of fitness which marks so many canonical sayings of Jesus. This is especially so with regard to § 1, about which there is a precision and point that forcibly recall the Gospels; it would be difficult, if not impossible, to convey the same truth more epigrammatically or effectively.

1. "*Take not the world for your lord, lest it take you for its slaves.*"

While this reminds us of Matt. vi. 24, it goes farther and adds a much-needed warning about the results of mammon-service. It is terribly easy to enlist light-heartedly as servants of pleasure or worldly gain, and presently to find oneself held with ghastly grip in an iron bondage one would fain break. The

[1] A. G. Hogg's study, *Redemption from this World*, is valuable in this connection.

biography of J. B. Gough, as of many other drunkards, illustrates this enslaving process, while equal frankness in many a society butterfly or "successful" financier would probably reveal also their loathing of the chains to which at first they voluntarily and eagerly submitted.

2. *"Who is it that builds upon the waves of the sea? Such is the world; take it not for your resting-place."*

3. *"The love of this world and of the next cannot agree in a believer's heart, even as fire and water cannot agree in a single vessel."*

4. *"Beware of glances, for they plant passion in the heart, and that is a sufficient temptation."*

These three passages also remind us in different ways of Gospel texts. In § 2 we may perhaps have an exaggerated reference to Matt. vii. 26, but it would not be at all an unlikely analogy for Jesus to use, especially to fishermen. The judgment of Reuben—"unstable as water" (Gen. xlix. 4)—would certainly be familiar to them, and it is inevitably true that worldliness such as his means restlessness and discontent. "There is no peace, saith the Lord, unto the wicked" (Isa. xlviii. 22). We may link § 3 with Matt. vi. 24 as aptly declaring the irreconcilable nature of religion and worldliness; the hint of clashing elements well illustrates the conflict of complexes—as the modern phrase runs—in the soul that has not found rest in God. With § 4 both Matt. v. 28 and Mark ix. 47 are in harmony, though they teach that even the lustful look is in itself sinful, while this warns against the deadly power of such glances to lure into deeper sin. Augustine's famous statement of the four stages in the downward path (thought, imagination, fascination, fall) should also be remembered.

5. *"Whosoever lies much, loses his beauty; whosoever wrangles with others, loses his honour; whosoever is much troubled, sickens in his body; whosoever is evilly disposed, tortures himself."*

This is the first of several sayings which suggest the varied penalties of sin. There is nothing quite like it in the Bible, but it is not alien in spirit, for we reap what we sow (Gal. vi.

7, 8) and thistles invariably produce thistles (Matt. vii. 16). It is not impossible to think of Jesus giving such warnings when on another occasion he bade men beware of losing their souls whilst to all appearances they remained prosperous and respectable (Mark viii. 36). The third clause is of special interest, as it is in line with modern thought regarding the effect of mind upon body and with the old saw that " Worry kills more than work."

6. *" Woe unto him who loves this world ! He will die and leave it, and all that is in it ! On the world has he set his hope, and by it he has been deceived ; he relied upon it, and it betrayed him."*

7. *" Woe unto them that are deceived by the world ! That which they loathe shall destroy them, that which they love shall forsake them, and upon them shall come that wherewith they are threatened ! "*

8. *" Woe unto him whose care is the world, and whose works are sin ! In the morning he shall be disgraced by his sin."*

Regarding these " woes " it must be remembered, as pointed out above, that Jesus certainly spoke emphatically thus in condemnation and warning. The best comment on § 6 is the parable of the Rich Fool (Luke xii. 16–21), but we may recall also the phrase " the deceitfulness of riches " (Matt. xiii. 22). The blindness of men to the unsatisfactory nature of material wealth is one of the mysteries of a strange world. The variety of the ills that afflict the ungodly when death comes is well suggested in § 7—the triumph of things scorned, the loss of things loved, the incidence of things feared. The storm scene of Matt. vii. 26, 27 gives a hint of the same inrush of woes, but without detailing them. In § 8 the thought turns to the less important but more obvious penalty—the shame that so frequently pursues and harasses those who " have loved the darkness rather than the light " (John iii. 19). The morning is presumably that of " the day of the Lord " (1 Thess. v. 4, 5).

9. *" The world is merely a bridge ; ye are to pass over it and not build your dwellings upon it."*

This is perhaps the most famous of the extra-canonical sayings ascribed to Jesus. It was discovered by the Scottish

missionary, Alexander Duff, in 1849 inscribed in Arabic on the gateway of the mosque at Futtehpore-Sikri, near Agra. His story of finding it and his description of the surroundings were written in a lady's album on his return to Scotland.[1] The mosque—one of the largest and most imposing in the world, he tells us—was built by the celebrated Moghul Emperor Akbar in the sixteenth century. The gateway is magnificent, 120 feet in height, and the words are in large characters standing out boldly in bas-relief. He speaks of the saying thus: "True in itself, the spectacle of ruins by which it was surrounded seemed to be the most emphatic commentary on its truth. It was with peculiar emotions that I gazed at this curious inscription and then at the ruined edifices which once were imperial palaces and courtly establishments replenished with all the grandeur and glory of the greatest and wisest of Asiatic sovereigns. Poor Akbar! *he* built his dwellings on the bridge!"

Dr. David Smith, in the course of an interesting study of this saying, which he regards as authentic, makes the three following points:[2] (1) There is reason to think that some truth lies behind the old tradition that Thomas preached in India, whether or not he founded the Church in Travancore which exists to this day. This saying may be a fragment of his teaching orally transmitted by his converts. (2) Akbar recognised the imperfections of Islam, summoned a Portuguese missionary from Goa to expound Christianity to him, and endeavoured to establish an eclectic faith. We know that his wife was a Christian; see, too, Tennyson's poem, "Akbar's Dream." (3) Though the word "bridge" does not occur in the Bible and there are no bridges in Palestine, the journey Jesus made to Phœnicia (Mark vii. 31) would probably bring him within sight of the famous mole constructed by Alexander the Great by which Tyre, built on an island three quarters of a mile off the coast (see Ezek. xxvii. 3, 4), was joined to the mainland. Whether, as Dr. Smith thinks, Jesus preached in Tyre must remain doubtful; if He did, it would be entirely like Him to suit His illustrations to the situations and sights familiar to His hearers. But if the word was more

[1] See his life, by Dr George Smith, vol. ii, p. 164.
[2] *Unwritten Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 71–82.

privately spoken to the disciples only, it may still date from that visit. In either case the contrast between the worldly splendour and vast wealth of the city and the life to which Jesus was calling men could hardly have been more aptly shown than in this way. And the absence of bridges in Palestine might well account for the disappearance of the saying. I notice that this is one of the only two agrapha included under that heading in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which fact is clear proof of the neglect of this interesting and valuable study.

10. *"Pass, then, through this world, and linger not there; and know that the root of every sin is love of the world. Often does the pleasure of an hour bestow on him that enjoys it long pain."*

11. *"The world is a place of transition, full of examples; be pilgrims therein, and take warning by the traces of those that have gone before."*

12. *"Be in the midst, yet walk on one side."*

The last three passages of this chapter also give this thought of discipleship as a pilgrimage in different ways. To § 10 Matt. vii. 13, 14 is closely akin. The point of the central clause appears to be that if worldliness is eradicated all other sins will lose their power; it is an encouragement, with an implied warning that it is useless to pluck off the poisonous leaves or corrupt fruit while the root of the trouble is untouched. This does not contradict 1 Tim. vi. 10, as the R.V. shows. The actual word "pilgrims" is found in the New Testament only at Heb. xi. 13 and 1 Peter ii. 11, but one would like to think that Jesus Himself used it, as § 11 suggests; Matt. vii. 13, 14, Luke xiii. 24, and other passages show that it is not alien to His mind, and the phrase "the Way," commonly used by the first Christians to describe their new life, points in the same direction (Acts ix. 2, etc.). The suggestions here of the brevity of human life and of the relics of our predecessors being warning examples for us recall forcibly Shelley's sonnet "Ozymandias." In § 12 the truth is so admirably expressed that disciples of Jesus are to be *in* the world but not *of* it (John xvii. 9–18) that it is difficult to think Jesus did not so speak. The descrip-

tion of the Christian life in the familiar hymn seems almost an echo of this saying :

> A mind to blend with outward life
> While keeping at Thy side.

REFERENCES.

1. Margoliouth, 35.
2. Ibid., 43.
3. Ibid., 39.
4. Ibid., 27.
5. Ibid., 30.
6. Asin, 38.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. In addition to the information given above, see Asin, 46, 75.
10. Margoliouth, 36.
11. Ibid., 2.
12. Ibid., 3.

CHAPTER XIII

OF A ROADSIDE INCIDENT, INVOLVING A HUMBLE ROBBER AND A PROUD APOSTLE

A MOHAMMEDAN work contributes the following narrative:

There was a robber among the children of Israel who had infested the highway forty years. Jesus passed by him, and there came behind him a pious Israelite, who was an apostle. The robber said in his heart: "Here is the Prophet of God passing with His apostle near by; what if I come down and make a third?" Coming down, he tried to approach the apostle, all the while despising himself and magnifying the apostle, and he said within himself: "I ought not to walk by the side of that righteous man." The apostle perceived him, and said to himself: "Shall such a man walk by my side?" And he hastened towards Jesus, and began to walk by His side, so that the robber remained behind. Then God revealed unto Jesus: "Say unto them, they must begin their work from the beginning, for I have cancelled their previous deeds; I have cancelled the good deeds of the apostle for his self-conceit and the evil deeds of the other for his self-abasement." Then Jesus told them of this, and took the robber for His companion in His pilgrimage, and made him one of His apostles.

This story, of course, reminds us of the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (Luke xviii. 9–14), and at first thought will probably be regarded as an imaginative version of that. This may actually be so, and my inclusion of it does not mean that I regard it definitely as a different tradition. Several points deserve consideration, however, and may mean that a real incident underlies it.

There are, first of all, various elaborations of it—a fact which suggests that the simple form may represent truth. Field quotes a longer example from the writings of a twelfth-century poet in an English rendering.[1] Asin gives three others with features that are distinctly more legendary; these omit the name of Jesus—another suspicious feature—reference being

[1] *Mystics and Saints of Islam*, p. 209.

made in one case vaguely to "a certain prophet." He also gives another version still, in which both men pray somewhat as in the Gospel narrative, which looks very like an attempt to harmonise the two stories.[1]

Again, there is another Gospel passage which is really quite as close to this as is the above-mentioned parable—the story of the woman in the Pharisee's house (Luke vii. 36–50); there also, as here, we get the juxtaposition of religious man and sinner, but with great differences. It appears to me that that incident might just as well be imagined to have developed from the parable as this one, except for the fact that it bears within itself strong suggestion of authenticity; surely, then, the same may be true here.

Further, there is an important point about the Gospel parables that does not seem to have received sufficient notice, and that has a bearing upon this question. We must not forget the possibility that in many cases real happenings underlie them in some way or another. It is, for example, commonly thought that when Jesus told His story of the nobleman journeying into a far land to receive a kingdom (Luke xix. 12) He was basing His narrative on an actual visit paid by Archelaus to Rome for that very purpose; both in the parable and in the historical occurrence there was an opposing embassy which endeavoured to frustrate their lord's plans. It seems very likely that other stories also were modelled by Jesus on the framework of familiar incidents—a defaulting steward, a repentant prodigal, etc. How apt would have been the teaching of Luke x. 25–37 if Jerusalem had recently been thrilled with the news of an assassination on the Jericho road! Now, if this is at all a true idea of Christ's teaching method, it is entirely possible that the parable we are considering was intended to rebuke some trace of Pharisaism or snobbery in some of His disciples. If, as might so possibly happen, some such incident as the one before us had taken place, and some disreputable individual had tried to link himself to the little company on the road but had been given the cold shoulder, how extraordinarily appropriate and effective the parable would be!

[1] P. 396.

We should remember that perhaps even within the group of disciples there was a tendency at times to scorn one another and to refuse close fellowship; the miracle of bringing Levi the tax-collector, who had been a hireling of the hated Romans, and Simon the Zealot, whose eager hope had been to draw the sword against them, together to the same table and to be road companions was probably not accomplished in a moment, and some such occurrence as this may well have been an incident in their conversion.

It is interesting also that here, as in Mark ix. 34 and x. 32, Jesus is pictured walking ahead—probably a frequent arrangement when he was feeling burdened.

REFERENCE.

Margoliouth, 59, varied slightly in view of Asin, 67.

CHAPTER XIV

OF SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN JESUS AND HIS DISCIPLES

THE passages in this chapter, like those in the next, all seem to belong to the more private side of the life of Jesus when He was in quiet fellowship with the disciples away from the crowd. We may recall that between the Galilean period of His ministry and the last events at Jerusalem there was a considerable time of comparative seclusion, when He took them away on long and probably leisurely tramps through Phœnicia, Decapolis, and the neighbourhood of Cæsarea, and endeavoured to keep out of public notice (see Mark vii. 24, 36, viii. 26, 30, ix. 30). We may regard it as a time both of His personal preparation for the final conflict and of training for those who were to carry on His work. The scantiness of Gospel references to instruction in this part of the story is no doubt due in part to the lesser opportunity of note-taking on such journeys.[1]

1. *When it was asked if Jesus paid the half-shekel for the Temple, He said: "What thinkest thou, Simon? the kings of the earth, from whom do they receive toll and tribute? from their sons or from strangers?" Simon said unto Him: "From strangers." Jesus said unto him: "Therefore the sons are free." Simon said unto Him: "Yea." Jesus said unto him: "Give thou also unto them as if a stranger."*

The last two sentences here are an interesting addition to Matt. xvii. 26. I have summarised the earlier sentences of the story to give the context. The words appear to confirm and make explicit the teaching of the incident, and we might paraphrase them thus: "We should be free from a compulsory levy of this sort and allowed to support God's house voluntarily (and so, by implication, should all be who recognise Him as Father); but if those in authority treat us as aliens, then let us yield to their demands, for, after all, are we not to

[1] See my article in *Expositor*, August 1924.

keep ourselves as strangers in this world and to walk as pilgrims therein?" Notice 1 Peter ii. 11–16, especially "strangers . . . submit . . . free . . ." If this is the meaning of the passage, the additional words are valuable, both because they suggest a basis in the words of Jesus for this apostolic teaching, and because of their obvious bearing upon the questions of non-resistance and of standing up for one's rights.

2. When they disputed who should be greatest, Jesus told them that He Himself came to minister to others, "But ye seek from little to increase and from greater to be something less. Having been invited to a feast, when ye come in, sit not down in the distinguished places lest one more honourable than thou arrive and the Lord of the feast come and say to thee: Go further down, and thou be ashamed. But if thou sit down in the meaner place and one meaner than thou arrive, the Lord of the feast will say to thee: Join us further up, and that shall be to thine advantage."

The extra teaching here is found after Matt. xx. 28 in a number of MSS., and it seems likely that if it did not actually belong to the original text of Matthew, it at least preserves an early and authentic tradition. It is easy to understand why it dropped out of notice, for the opening words are epigrammatic almost to the point of obscurity, and the parable that follows appears at first sight merely to have been borrowed from Luke xiv. 8–11. I do not think this can be so, however, for several reasons: (1) The language is entirely different, scarcely a word being the same; it is hardly possible to suppose it a case of bad memory and poor harmonisation rather than of similar teaching on a different occasion. (2) There is no reference in Luke to the entrance of a "meaner than thou"; the promotion is entirely an act of grace. (3) The teaching in Luke is of a much less vital character, belonging rather to the realm of table manners ("any man"); here the thought is surely of the great supper (Matt. viii. 11, xxii. 2). (4) The parable is singularly appropriate here, as I shall now proceed to show, so that to omit it is to lessen the force of the whole passage.

I have summarised in a phrase or two the situation as given to us in Matt. xx. 20–28, and the last words there must

be read if we are to gain the sense here. It is as though Jesus said: "You are to be lowly as I am; but instead of that you are ambitious, trying to better your position, humanly speaking, and so stepping down spiritually to a lower level." From that the parable follows on quite naturally. Here is a rough paraphrase: "You are invited to a royal repast; you should not seek precedence, as you are doing now—the first rank is for those who merit it; be content with the humblest place; if your Lord calls you higher, so much the better, but do not desire it." Interpreted thus, the passage is an emphatic condemnation of the desire for pre-eminence even in holy things which is surely contrary to the mind of Christ (Rom. xii. 10; Phil. ii. 3), and a striking call to follow faithfully in the steps of the "meek and lowly in heart." It may be illustrated by the story of how Spurgeon as a youth was ambitiously meditating a college career in the hope of fame and fortune, when, crossing Midsummer Common at Cambridge, he seemed to hear the words: "Seekest thou great things for thyself? Seek them not." He tells that this led him to look at his position from a different standpoint and to challenge his motives and intentions. The passage we are considering may well do a like service to some.

The next two passages are from the Oxyrhynchus papyri; in each case the fragment is much mutilated and the readings very uncertain. Of the many reconstructions which have been attempted I have adopted—rather hesitatingly—Evelyn White's, which are interesting and skilful.

3. *Judas saith: "Who, then, are they who draw us? And when shall come the Kingdom which is in heaven?" Jesus saith: "The birds of the air, and of the beasts whatsoever is under the earth or upon the earth, and the fishes of the sea, these are they which draw you. And the Kingdom of heaven is within you; and whosoever shall know himself shall find it. And when ye have found it, ye shall know that ye are sons and heirs of the almighty Father; and ye shall know that ye are in God and God in you. And ye are the city of God."*

There are two sides to this saying, with each of which points of contact in canonical teaching are found. We have, first, the thought that the animal creation can illustrate for

us the Providence of God and so encourage us to seek His Kingdom, as Jesus taught in Matt. vi. 26 (though Job xii. 7, 8 is a nearer parallel still). Then, secondly, the idea of the Kingdom being within is familiar to us from Luke xvii. 21, though there is nothing in the Gospels quite corresponding to this implied precept to seek and find it there, with which, of course, must be compared the old Greek proverb, "Know thyself." The two-fold nature of this teaching led Evelyn White to posit a two-fold question, one part of which naturally reproduces Luke xvii. 20, the other probably being due to some enigmatic teaching which seemed to require elucidation. His suggestion that Judas was the interrogator is clever, and lends colour to the incident; we are reminded of John xiv. 22. He gives the point of the saying thus: "Men can be greatly influenced towards the Kingdom by the example of faith and trust shown by the lower creation; for the Kingdom is not a material one: it is latent in man, and consists in his capacities for faith, trust, and the like. When a man becomes conscious of these and developes them (knows himself)—a process in which the example of the birds of the air and other creatures exercises a powerful influence—he has found the Kingdom, and realises all that this implies, sonship with God and unity with God." [1]

4. *His disciples examine Him and say: "How shall we fast, and how shall we pray, and how shall we do alms, and what shall we keep of the traditions?" Jesus saith: "Ye shall not be as the hypocrites. Do not these things openly, but cleave to the truth."*

The reconstruction adopted here is also doubtful, but it is fairly clear that there was a question regarding fasting and other practices, and that the reply centred in the word "truth." This is enough to make it of interest and to suggest that in it we have a genuine reminiscence of an actual incident, which may either have preceded the teaching of Matt. vi. 1–18 and have contained briefly the instruction afterwards worked up there into a more ordered unity, or else (like that recorded in Luke xi. 1) have taken place subsequently, perhaps owing to the strangeness at first of the new way of life outlined by

[1] P. 14.

Jesus. In that case His reply would naturally be—as hinted here—to stress the central thought of sincerity in contrast to the sham devotion of the Pharisees. It has been suggested that the emphatic word "examine" used here indicates a desire to "cross-question and almost to catechise the Master on these matters and force Him to prescribe a system of nicely balanced regulations." [1] Against such a tendency Jesus would, of course, set His face resolutely, and an appeal for absolute genuineness as the *sine qua non* of religious observance is precisely what we should expect. It was His purpose to lead them to such an inner apprehension of truth as would make rules and detailed instructions unnecessary and so free them from all bondage to the letter (John viii. 31, 32; Gal. v. 1; Col. ii. 20–23). It is entirely in harmony with this that—as urged in Chapter VIII—we should think of Jesus teaching the Lord's Prayer as a model upon which all prayer should be fashioned rather than as a memory lesson to be repeated constantly word for word. I cannot think that the frequent repetition of it, whether while "telling one's beads" or as an appendix to public prayer, is either spiritually healthy or according to the mind of Christ.

5. *Jesus said: "If thy brother sin in word and give thee satisfaction, receive him seven times in the day." Simon, His disciple, said to Him: "Seven times in the day?" The Lord answered and said to him: "Yea, I say unto thee, until seventy times seven; for with the prophets also, after they were anointed with the Holy Spirit, there was found sinful speech."*

This version of familiar teaching is from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews,* as cited by Jerome. There are several differences from the corresponding Gospel passages (Matt. xviii. 21, 22; Luke xvii. 3, 4). "In word" is an addition; the reference to "giving satisfaction" is paralleled in Luke, but in Matthew an earlier paragraph (xviii. 15–17) has also to be read to gain this idea; and the form of Simon's query is different from Matthew's account, Luke not recording it at all. The idea that the prophets were "anointed with the Holy Spirit" occurs in Isa. lxi. 1 and received the sanction of

[1] Swete in *Expository Times,* August 1904.

Jesus (Luke iv. 18). The saying is in no way heretical, for the "cursing psalms" and many other passages are diametrically opposed to the moral teaching of Jesus. Its significance is clear: sanctification is a process, and when others do not "grow in grace" as speedily as we might wish we are to be gentle with them (1 Thess. ii. 7) and not break the bruised reed (Matt. xii. 20); for even the prophets themselves erred.

6. *When the disciples inquired of Him in regard to the man who was blind from his birth, and recovered his sight, if this man sinned or his parents, that he should be born blind, he answered: "Neither did he sin at all, nor his parents, but that the power of God might be made manifest through him in healing the sins of ignorance."*

This variant of the story in John ix. 1–3 is from an interesting patristic argument which may perhaps be summarised in the writer's own words thus, that "where there is harmony there is no pain." Sin and ignorance alike destroy harmony and cause unhappiness, he teaches, the great example being that if men understood and observed the laws of Nature regarding procreation as they do those for seed-sowing we should be spared "a multitude of evils." The saying is, of course, slightly paradoxical—denying that sin was the cause, yet stating also that the *sins* of ignorance were being healed. It might aid understanding if we personified "Ignorance." The meaning clearly is that while no personal guilt was deemed blameworthy, the world's ignorance was responsible and in a real measure culpable. Surely this is incontrovertible, and it is quite likely that the intention of Jesus on this occasion, whilst not to reprove the man and his relations, was yet certainly to reveal the needlessness of his suffering and disability. This seems a deeper motive than that suggested in John—that the man was so afflicted merely in order that God's power might be "illustrated in him" (Moffatt's translation).

7. *The apostles said: "Increase our faith." And He replied to them: "If faith were in you, even a mount would move from your sight." He said also to them: "Do not hesitate, lest ye sink in the world, as Simon, who when he doubted began to sink in the sea."*

This conversation has quite the appearance of truth. The disciples' question, of course, occurs at Luke xvii. 5, but

neither the answer there nor the variant of it given here seems altogether calculated to increase faith ; such statements might rather tend to discourage unless they were linked with further teaching of this kind. We are reminded inevitably of Jas. i. 6–8, which may well be a reminiscence of this ; together the passages give us the idea of faith as unwavering concentration —a much truer thought than many popular conceptions of it. The reference to " the world " recalls the Mohammedan agrapha, and connects this saying closely in teaching with those in Chapter XII (see especially § 2 there).

8. *Jesus said to Philip : " Leave the dead to bury their dead, but follow thou Me."*

Regarding this statement that it was to Philip this famous saying was addressed, Alford says : " A tradition of this nature was hardly likely to be wrong." He recalls that, according to John i. 43, Philip had already received the call " Follow Me," but thinks there is no inconsistency and that the command here is parallel to John xxi. 19, 22, and may be regarded " as an admonition occasioned by some slackness or symptom of decadence on the part of the apostle." [1] There is at least this to be said in favour of the identification, that it appears to harmonise with the several hints which the Gospels give us of Philip as a rather slow, hesitant, self-critical, and undiscerning individual. He did not trust himself to out-argue Nathanael (John i. 46) or alone to introduce the Greeks to Jesus (xii. 22) ; and we can more easily understand his remark about bread for the crowd (vi. 7) than his dull-visioned query at the Last Supper (xiv. 8). The fact that a different Philip soon became prominent in the Early Church perhaps points in the same direction (Acts vi. 5, viii. 5). We may notice, too, that if his request merely meant " Let me reside with my father till his death," we have a further hint of slackness. Sadler quotes an actual reply of an Eastern under similar circumstances in almost the same words,[2] and our colloquial expression about " one foot in the grave " belongs to the same class of idiom.

[1] See his *Commentary*, at Matt. viii. 21.
[2] *Commentary on Matthew*, loc. cit.

9. *The Lord Christ said to Peter : " Verily thine eye shall never be closed in eternity for the light of this world."*

10. *The apostles said to Him : " Thy speech is the speech of light to those who go and call on Thee."*

11. *The disciples thus spake unto Jesus : " Thou art a key to every man, and the one who shutteth to every man."*

These passages are of less probable authenticity and of lower value. The strange saying in § 9 may be linked with John viii. 12, and might conceivably be a half-playful answer to some gloomy, unenlightened remark of Peter's about the darkness of death and the grave as the end of all things, as though Jesus said : " Be of good courage ; I am the light of this world, and if while here you follow where I lead, you will behold the hidden things of the next world too." In § 10 we have a possible reference by the disciples to the same verse or a Christian adaptation of Ps. cxix. 105 ; the Epistles are, of course, full of this sense of the enlightenment received in Christ. We cannot accept § 11 with much confidence, but Rev. iii. 7 shows that some such association of ideas was current in the Early Church, and makes it just possible that it may have been based on memory of an actual conversation. It would be quite a natural illustration either for Him or them to use of His influence, and from different points of view, Matt. xvi. 19 and John x. 7, xiv. 6 all prepare the way for it. After some instruction or explanation or prohibition they might easily have thus aptly spoken of how He opened the gateway of truth or barred the road to indulgence. Certainly He is the key to all our perplexities, and if we are but willing to be led by Him doors of knowledge, fellowship, and opportunity spring open before us on the one hand, and on the other paths we desire to tread are often closed to us by a greater wisdom than our own (cp. Acts xvi. 6–15).

12. *He bade us abandon and disregard conjectures and questions that cause much strife, and not waste thoughts upon things which have been removed far from our knowledge, but, as much as possible, seek the Lord of the universe with the whole mind and spirit.*

With these words we may compare 2 Tim. ii. 23 and other passages in which Paul warns against fruitless speculation.

There is no close parallel in the Gospels, but the apostle may well have known of some such teaching as this. Curiosity upon specific points is forbidden (Mark xiii. 32; John xxi. 22; Acts i. 7), and the more general prohibition seems quite according to the mind of Christ. It was not only amongst the "intellectuals" of Greece that speculation was allowed to damp moral enthusiasm; the apocalyptic writings show clearly the hold that "conjectures and questions" had upon many Jews. And again, the necessity for such teaching has not yet passed; theological orthodoxy upon incomprehensible matters has often been deemed of greater importance than whole-hearted devotion and the right spirit of service; and the stress placed by some to-day on the imagery of the books of Daniel and Revelation, with intricate calculations and subtle identifications, are a contradiction to the real moral emphasis of the Gospel. We are reminded of the words in *The Imitation of Christ*: "Woe to them that inquire of men after many curious things, and care little of the way to serve Me." [1]

REFERENCES.

1. Arabic Diatessaron, xxv. 6 (see Hamlyn Hill's edition).
2. Codex Bezae (cp. Ropes, 4).
3. Oxyrhynchus Papyri, 654, 2 (as rendered by Evelyn White).
4. Ibid., 654, 5.
5. Jerome, *Against the Pelagians*, iii. 2 (see Ropes, 21).
6. *Clementine Homilies*, xix. 22 (see A.N. xvii).
7. Aphraates, *Homilies*, i. 17 (cp. Pick, p. 67).
8. Clement (Alex.), *Miscellanies*, iii. 4 (cp. A.N. xii).
9. *Life of Schnudi* (see Pick, p. 115).
10. *On the Triune Nature of God* (see Mrs. M. D. Gibson's edition, p. 28).
11. Codex Askew of *Pistis Sophia* (see Pick, p. 81).
12. Arnobius, *Against the Heathen*, ii. 60 (paraphrased somewhat; see A.N. xix).

[1] Cruise's translation, iv. 43.

CHAPTER XV

OF JESUS TELLING THEM ABOUT HIS MISSION, AND THAT THEY ALSO WERE TO SERVE OTHERS IN HOLY THINGS, AND SO BE TRULY BLESSED

In this chapter are collected two allied groups of sayings, those in which words are attributed to Jesus describing His own mission and those in which He is said to have commissioned His disciples to share in His work.

The first three passages differently describe the purpose of His coming, each statement being quite possibly authentic. They are complementary, not mutually exclusive. § 1 implies His consciousness of having been sent to fulfil the expectations of those who had gone before; § 2 suggests one of the ways in which, however, the new order was to transcend the old; while § 3 gives His wider outlook to the very ends of the earth.

1. "*I am He concerning whom Moses prophesied, saying: A Prophet shall the Lord our God raise up for you from your brethren, like unto Me; hear Him in all things, and whoever will not hear that Prophet shall die.*"

2. "*I came to destroy the sacrifices, and except ye cease from sacrificing, wrath shall not cease from you.*"

3. "*I am come to gather all the nations and tribes and languages.*"

The quotation in § 1 from Deut. xviii. 15, 19 occurs twice in Acts, on the lips of Peter and Stephen (iii. 22, vii. 37), which proves that it was an Old Testament prophecy commonly felt to have been fulfilled by Christ; we know, too, from John i. 21 that it was closely linked with the hope of a Messiah. That Jesus Himself should lay hold of it and speak thus is certainly not at all impossible; especially after Peter's confession of faith at Cæsarea Philippi, it seems extremely probable that He would further reveal Himself to His disciples and declare more fully His mission, and in that case this old promise would surely

be called into service. It has often been thought that § 2—from the Ebionite Gospel—is merely a heretical mutilation of Matt. v. 17, but we must remember the strong trend of thought, even in the Old Testament, that the sacrifices were not of God's ordaining. Many passages there seem to go much farther than is often allowed, and do not say merely that without the obedience of the heart the offering of the hand is valueless, but distinctly deny the divine origin of the sacrificial system (Jer. vii. 22; Micah vi. 6–8, etc.). Jesus twice quoted Hos. vi. 6 with approval (Matt. ix. 13, xii. 7), and the purging of the Temple, which must have interrupted the burnt offerings on one day at least, seems to imply more than that the mere traffic was out of place. Moreover, His followers did presently cease from sacrificing, and we know they were not wrong in so doing. Further, there is no real inconsistency between this saying and Matt. v. 17, for it is quite reasonable to suppose that Jesus thought He was fulfilling the law by abolishing that part of it which He considered transient, just as on an entirely different issue He evidently felt He was guarding the real law by refusing to sanction a compromise Moses had allowed because of the hardness of men's hearts (Matt. xix. 8). The highest form of fulfilment is not acting in detailed agreement with the letter, but achieving the real purpose and living in the true spirit of what has been said. The reference to " wrath " here need not perplex. Jesus may have used it as equivalent to " calamity," just as He seems deliberately to have adopted the imagery of the apocalyptists. But, probing deep into the thought of the love of God, we understand that holy anger and loving grief are not mutually exclusive terms. The words in § 3 are quoted as a saying of " the Lord " ; they are practically the same as in Isa. lxvi. 18, with the addition of " tribes." It is possible to regard the writer as meaning that the pre-existent Christ inspired the prophet to speak thus, but it is equally likely that Jesus took up the prophecy and made it His own. As He taught the prayer " Thy Kingdom come," so He may have spoken thus in the hope of a moral victory by which all lands should be spiritually conquered.

The next few passages are a bridge from the thought of His own mission and ministry to that of the work in which His

followers are to share and the spirit in which alone they can rightly do so.

4. "*For the weak became I weak, and for the hungry was I an hungered, and for the thirsty became I athirst.*"

5. "*He who is not like unto Me is not like unto Him that sent Me.*"

6. "*My brethren and joint-heirs are those who do the will of My Father.*"

The suggestion of § 4 is that of Heb. iv. 15 and 2 Cor. viii. 9, that it was in order the better to serve and save the needy that he "chose a poor and humble lot." There can be little doubt that divine wisdom guided the manner of His coming amongst men. If He had been a councillor instead of a carpenter He could hardly have touched all sorts and conditions of men as He did and as He still does. Siddhartha had to strip himself of his rank before he could become the Buddha. But the saying also recalls 1 Cor. ix. 22, which shows that Paul had caught the mind of his Master in this. It is difficult to understand how the "Princes of the Church" miss this truth; perchance this passage may help some to recover it. In § 5 we have a manuscript addition to John xii. 44; many texts imply this lofty self-consciousness in Jesus, this high thought of His own relationship to God, but there is no such clear expression in the Gospels of the call to Christlikeness. Of course, much of the teaching implies the possibility and the importance of our becoming like Him (Matt. xi. 29), but this emphatic declaration is new and valuable. With § 6 compare Matt. xii. 50, but notice the interesting addition, "fellow-heirs." As we have seen above,[1] it seems very possible that Jesus made more use of this "inheritance" idea than the Gospels suggest, and that the many passages in the Epistles where it occurs have their root in His own teaching. In Rom. viii. 17 the actual word occurs which we are considering —surely an extreme expression for the apostle to employ unless he had some such warrant as this in the words of Jesus. In the Parable of the Vineyard (Mark xii. 7) He spoke of Himself as "the heir," but that passage alone, without the support

[1] P. 49.

of such a statement as this, would tend rather to prevent the use of the expression regarding others than Christ Himself.

7. *" That which is weak shall be saved through that which is strong."*

8. *" Good things must come, and blessed is he through whom they come."*

We are reminded again here irresistibly both of His own ministry and of that to which He calls those who are strong " in the strength of His might." Recall how He bade Peter act as a strong arm to weaker brethren (Luke xxii. 32). Jackson's comment is apt : " It is the high privilege of strength of every kind—physical, intellectual, moral, and spiritual—to be the means of saving the weak, from the supreme strength of the Stronger than the Strong, which saves weak humanity, down to the humblest championship of the bigger child who rescues the less." [1]

Such work brings happiness, as § 8 tells us. Quoted in connection with Matt. xviii. 7—of which it is the positive counterpart—some writers think it merely an outgrowth from that text, but I like to think that this more hopeful forward look came from Jesus Himself, as well as the warning.

The next five passages are all beatitudes. It is interesting but not at all surprising that a number of these precepts dealing with loyal service and holy influence should take this form.

9. *" Blessed is that man whom his Lord shall appoint to the ministry of his fellow-servants."*

10. *" Blessed is he who also fasts for this, that he might feed the poor."*

11. *" Blessed is he who abandons a present pleasure for the sake of something promised, which is absent and unseen."*

12. *" Blessed is the eye which, while it sleeps, thinks no evil, and wakes into sinlessness."*

13. *" Blessed is he to whom God shall have taught His book, but who yet shall not die proud."*

The first (§ 9) is often thought to be a free rendering of Luke xii. 42,43, but there the blessing is given to the faithful discharge of duty, while here it belongs rather to the very privilege of ministry itself. We may notice that the ancient writer who quotes the saying does so because of its emphasis on ministry

[1] P. 53.

rather than authority (cp. Mark x. 42–45)—a lesson always needed by those called to leadership in the Church. The next saying (§ 10) is stated to be from "a certain book by the apostles," Jesus not being actually mentioned. Lock aptly quotes a description of the Early Church from the *Apology of Aristides:* "If there is among them a man that is poor and needy, they fast two or three days, that they may supply the needy with necessary food." [1] But while this meaning is not excluded, it seems to me that we may here legitimately spiritualise the words somewhat. As I have already pointed out,[2] "fasting" may quite properly be understood in a wider sense than that of abstinence from food, and in such a passage as Mark ix. 29 it surely means refraining from everything that would hinder persistent and prevailing prayer. If, then, we read the word here in this sense, we must equally get beneath the surface significance of "feed the poor." To share with Christ the work of satisfying those who hunger and thirst after righteousness demands self-denial and strenuous refusal of lower claims. It is a life that often looks to the worldly narrow and restricted, but how truly blessed it is those who engage in it well know.

The last three beatitudes are from Mohammedan writers. The idea of renunciation is carried forward in § 11, which accords fairly well with John xii. 25 and other such passages. To be called by Christ to share His way and His work is indeed a call to blessedness, but only through renunciation of lesser things. We may link § 12 with His words regarding the single eye (Matt. vi. 22, 23); it is an apt reminder of the whole-heartedness which is there taught. The man whose sight is rightly concentrated upon unseen things (2 Cor. iv. 18) will share his Master's safety from many a moral peril and be blessed indeed—his "whole body shall be full of light." May we find in this reference to right thinking, even during sleep, a hint of the idea so emphasised to-day that the subconscious is always at work, and that dream images have an intimate connection with the deepest motives of one's being? Happy indeed is he who is pure, not in word, deed, and waking thought alone, but in heart. Regarding § 13, the idea of God's instruc-

[1] See *Expositor*, January 1894. [2] P. 54.

tion and inspiration for His service is, of course, given to us under the symbol of a book both in Ezek. ii. 9–iii. 3, and in Rev. x. 8–10, but the thought of receiving such blessed schooling in a humble spirit is new, and recalls 2 Cor. xii. 7. It does not seem unlikely that Jesus should so tell His disciples to beware lest when God sent them His truth (John xiv. 17, 23, 26, etc.) they should think more highly of themselves than they ought, and that the way of blessedness was to hear, obey, and follow closely in the steps of the "lowly in heart." We may notice Ruskin's words in *Frondes Agrestes:* "I believe the first test of a truly great man is his humility. . . . They have a curious under-sense of powerlessness, feeling that the greatness is not *in* them, but *through* them—that they could not do or be anything else than God made them."

Closely allied to these beatitudes are the two following sayings:

14. "*Whoso ransometh souls from idols, he shall be great in My Kingdom.*"

15. "*Whoso knows and does and teaches shall be called great in the Kingdom of heaven.*"

The first of these has all the appearance of a genuine reminiscence. It is true that there is no mention of idols in the Gospels, but in view of the fact that the earliest and most reliable tradition regarding Jesus includes a reference to the world-wide preaching of the Gospel (Mark xiv. 9), it is almost incredible that He should not have dealt with such questions in the course of His conversations with those who were presently to be His heralds in heathen lands. We may recall also the proximity of the Greek cities of Decapolis, with their myriad shrines and sensuous worship; His journeys there and to Phœnicia (Mark vii. 24, 31) make it certain that He and they came face to face with idolatry at its worst, and this saying may well date from that time. The words aptly express the emphasis which He laid on ministry in Mark x. 43–45, and should be read in close connection with that passage. It is commonly overlooked that Jesus is there practically equating "minister" and "give his life a ransom," and as He clearly meant His hearers to follow Him in the one respect, it is only reasonable to suppose that He implied they were to serve in the other also.

In other words, those who share His ministry spend their lives to ransom souls from evil and give themselves for the redemption of the world, as He did. The uniqueness of His part in the process should not obscure the reality of others' share in it, though it has often been allowed to do so. Perhaps this saying may help to correct that false emphasis and also the unfortunate literalisation of the metaphor by which comment upon the canonical passage has been commonly marred. With § 15 compare Matt. v. 19, of which it may be merely an enlargement. But removed thus from its context and all mention of the Mosaic law, and made to refer to the possession of truth in a more general sense, it becomes a striking saying, which urges that action and witness must develop out of knowledge or life will miss its highest blessedness. Part of this truth is given to us in John xiii. 17, but there is no such complete statement of it in the Gospels. Further, the verse in Matthew has often caused considerable perplexity because of its apparent stress upon the old law. If we could think of this saying as preserving Christ's original utterance more correctly, we should be relieved of a real difficulty.

16. "*Behold, I make the last things as the first things.*"

This varies from Matt. xix. 30, etc., in referring to things and not persons, and there is a real difference of significance. The words concisely express the reversal of former judgments that takes place when Christ makes all things new.[1] When any man becomes a new creature (2 Cor. v. 17), he cheerfully and eagerly does things which he would never have dreamed of hitherto; he puts first what before would have seemed the very last things on earth he would ever do. And the life of happy ministry, in likeness to Christ's own, is a supreme instance of this alteration of emphasis.

17. "*I am the Day.*"

Several early writers spoke of Jesus as the "Day." Rendel Harris has shown good reason for believing that the title was derived in some way or another from Ps. cxviii. 24, but it is uncertain whether (as this passage suggests) Jesus Himself actually used it.[2] We know that He applied the

[1] Cp. p. 53.

[2] See *Expositor*, August 1917.

previous verses of that Psalm to Himself (Mark xii. 10, 11), and it is possible that this gave His followers the clue to put these words also into His mouth. But if He spoke of Himself as the " light of the world " (John viii. 12), it is not impossible that He also used this other allied term, which aptly carries forward the illustration from the nature of His influence to the fact that its incoming creates a new epoch for the world. In any case it is true that a new era dawned with His coming upon earth. And in harmony with the rest of this chapter we may say that those who are living in Him are not only " children of the day " (1 Thess. v. 5), possessing His illuminating presence, but are called to herald this new age for their fellows and to share in making all things new and beautiful for them also.

18. *Our Lord thus charged us that whatsoever we preach in words before the people we should practise in deeds before all men.*

We may fitly close with what claims to be an apostolic reminiscence by one of the " seventy " (Luke x. 1) regarding the importance of preaching and practice being in accord. It seems probable that Jesus did on some occasion so charge them, and certainly the Church can only fulfil the mission and enjoy the blessedness of which we have been thinking if it shares His consistency in this respect.

REFERENCES.

1. *Clementine Homilies*, iii. 53 (see Ropes, 38).
2. Epiphanius, *Heresies*, xxx. 16 (see Ropes, 43).
3. Clement (Rome), *Second Epistle*, 17 (cp. A.N. extra vol.).
4. Origen, *Commentary on Matthew*, bk. xiii, ch. ii (see Dodd, p. 35).
5. The Sinaitic Syriac MS. (see Mrs. A. S. Lewis' *Light on the Four Gospels*, p. 160).
6. Clement (Alex.), *Selections from the Prophets*, 20 (cp. Pick, p. 76).
7. *Apostolic Church-Order*, 26 (see Ropes, 36).
8. *Clementine Homilies*, xii. 29 (see Ropes, 40).
9. Ibid., iii. 64 (see A.N. xvii).
10. Origen, *Homilies on Leviticus*, No. 10, par. 2 (see Pick, p. 105).
11. Asin, 20.
12. Ibid., 92.
13. Margoliouth, 55.
14. *Acts of Thomas*, 6 (cp. Ropes, 45).
15. Margoliouth, 7.
16. *Epistle of Barnabas*, 6 (cp. A.N. i).
17. Eusebius, *Against Marcellus*, i. 2 (see footnote, p. 111).
18. *Teaching of Addæus* (see A.N. xx. 2, p. 29).

CHAPTER XVI

OF A VISIT TO THE TEMPLE, AND A CONVERSATION THERE WITH A PRIEST CONCERNING TRUE AND FALSE PURITY

WE come to the longest, best-preserved, and most valuable of the Oxyrhynchus fragments:

And He took them and brought them into the very place of purification, and was walking with them in the temple. And a certain Pharisee, a chief priest, whose name was Levi, met them and said to the Saviour: "Who gave Thee leave to walk in this place of purification and to see these holy vessels, when Thou hast not washed nor yet have Thy disciples bathed their feet? But defiled Thou hast walked in this temple, which is a pure place, wherein no other man walks except he has washed himself and changed his garments, neither does he venture to see these holy vessels." And the Saviour straightway stood still with His disciples and answered him: "Art thou, then, being here in the temple, clean? He saith unto Him: "I am clean, for I washed in the pool of David, and having descended by one staircase I ascended by another, and put on white and clean garments, and then I came and looked upon these holy vessels." The Saviour answered and said unto him: "Woe ye blind, who see not. Thou hast washed in these running waters wherein dogs and swine have been cast night and day, and thou hast cleansed and wiped the outside skin which also harlots and flute-girls anoint and wash and wipe and beautify for the lust of men, but within they are full of scorpions and all wickedness. But I and My disciples, who thou sayest have not bathed, have been dipped in the waters of eternal life which come from God."

The discoverers and editors, Grenfell and Hunt, state that the single vellum leaf on which this storywas found is practically complete, and that the few gaps admit of satisfactory restoration. They consider it part of a manuscript written in the fourth century, but that the gospel of which this is an extract was probably composed in the second; they see no signs that it was heretical in origin.

Their view of the value of the fragment is that it has no claim to be accepted as authentic, and that it is merely to be

regarded as an apocryphal elaboration of Matt. xv. 1–20 and Mark vii. 1–23. Their reason for this conclusion, which I think quite mistaken, is that there are such great "divergences between this account and the extant and no doubt well-informed authorities with regard to the topography and ritual of the Temple." A writer in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Büchler, on the other hand, dealt with the so-called divergences at some length, and came to the conclusion that "the writer was accurately informed on all these matters, and that tradition fully confirms the details which sound so incredible." [1] In order to explain sundry points of interest, I shall have to deal a little more closely with this difference of opinion than I have usually done with other critical questions in these pages.

But first it may be noticed that Swete says the style of the fragment is similar to that of the Synoptics and entirely free from the false rhetoric of later writings, and he thinks the Gospel from which it is an extract "may be supposed to embody traditions which were afloat in Egypt during the quarter of a century that followed the close of the Apostolic age." [2] Now if this is so, it is surely impossible to think that a tradition dating so near the time of the apostles themselves can be wholly destitute of historical truth. Elaborated and embellished it may be, and inaccurate possibly in some details, but that it narrates a real incident appears almost certain, and to regard it merely as a development of the canonical passages quoted above or as entirely imaginative seems to me exceedingly inadequate.

Four points must be especially discussed:

(1) The "place of purification" is a term not found elsewhere in connection with the Temple, and it is not quite clear what is meant. It cannot refer to the court of the priests, for then the complaint would have been that Jesus and the disciples were there at all, because it could only be entered by laymen for the purpose of sacrifice. The editors think that the writer has confused the court of the Israelites with that of the priests. Büchler, on the other hand, maintains that the reference is not simply to the court of the Israelites, but to a wall-chamber opening from it, in which was a bathing-place

[1] January 1908. [2] *Two New Gospel Fragments*, p. 4.

and to which entry was permitted to laymen. If Jesus and His companions had passed through the court and were now at the door of this room, they would still be "walking in the Temple."

(2) The statement that Jesus and the disciples were within sight of the "holy vessels" has also been felt as a difficulty, for the obvious reference is to the table of shewbread, the candlestick, etc., which were within the sanctuary and invisible even from the priests' court. But Büchler states that on the day following a festival the holy vessels were taken from the sanctuary to be washed, and that such a chamber as that referred to above would be the natural place for this to be done. Swete's remark that "there is nothing to indicate that the occasion was a special one" misses the point that the earlier narrative may quite possibly have included such a statement. It should be remembered that there are indications even in the Synoptics of visits paid by Jesus to Jerusalem during His ministry, and there is every probability that these took place at the feasts. We may recall that He lingered there *after* the feast as a boy (Luke ii. 43), and it is quite possible He often did so, delighting for awhile in the quiet of the courts after the pilgrims had left. It is in view of these points that I have placed this incident here and not with the story of the last visit to Jerusalem.

(3) That Jews had to wash and change their garments before entering the court of the Israelites (as implied here) is a statement that has been severely criticised. But Büchler quotes amongst other evidence the words of Josephus: "Men who are not fully purified are excluded from the inner sanctuary." And surely even such passages as Luke xi. 38 and Mark vii. 3, 4 show the insistence on washing that was customary then and which would surely apply also to such an act as entering the Temple. As regards the change of garments also the fragment is probably accurate, Swete quoting Gen. xxxv. 2, to which Büchler adds Exod. xix. 10. On the basis of such passages it would almost certainly be a practice to act in this way, and we may note that the priest here does not say that any regulation has been disobeyed, but simply that custom has been broken.

(4) With regard to the " pool of David " there is no reference elsewhere to such a place. The mention of the two staircases has also been found puzzling, the editors regarding it and the statement about dogs and swine as " details invented for the sake of rhetorical effect." Büchler thinks we cannot define the place with precision, but that one of several bathing-places he describes may have been so styled ; we should notice that one of these was a subterranean one, which agrees well with running water and stairs. We must be careful not to suppose that our lack of information about a place so named means that there was none such. He maintains, also, that the priest's statement about the two staircases is thoroughly probable, for " it is entirely in accord with the requirements of a very rigid observance of the purity laws not to touch, when in a state of purification, the spots previously touched in a condition of defilement." He is surely right, too, in urging that the reference to the defilement of the water is perfectly sensible and apt, for it was *running* water, and however clean it might look, it had " on its long road to the Temple received many undesirable defilements." The remarks of the editors that the writer was probably thinking of the stagnant pools of Egyptian villages, and that it is incredible a priest should wash himself in such a place, are surely lacking altogether in imagination. The reminder of the filth with which the water had previously been in contact seems to me an extraordinarily clever and significant way of suggesting the uselessness of the skin-deep purification upon which the priest lay such stress. The argument is a very strong and suggestive one, which is made still more so by the mention of the care bestowed upon the skin by harlots. " Your very water is tainted," Jesus says in effect, " yet however pure it were and however much you used it and other means, your cleansing would still be a worthless thing, for it removes not a single speck of the real dirt of wickedness."

On all these points, then, I regard this narrative as of much greater accuracy than its discoverers suggested, and I consider it of far greater worth than has usually been thought. It appears to me fully in harmony with the teaching of Jesus about purity mentioned above, but to give a more emphatic

and forceful statement of the case and one that I can hardly believe did not originate with Jesus.

A few other points require brief mention. The statement that the priest was also a Pharisee sounds strange, but though the combination was unusual, it was not impossible. His name is only given tentatively as "Levi," the fragment being mutilated at this point. The reproach "Woe ye blind" is, of course, very much like Matt. xxiii. 16, 24, and quite in Christ's manner of speech with people of this type. The closing word is lost, but it must have been either "God" or some equivalent expression, "the Father," or "heaven."

REFERENCE.

Oxyrhynchus Papyri, 840. See G.H.'s *Fragment of an Uncanonical Gospel.*

CHAPTER XVII

OF THE COMING OF THE KINGDOM, WHEN GOD'S WILL SHALL BE DONE EVERYWHERE UPON THE EARTH

As already implied, the inward and spiritual nature of the Kingdom of God is very clearly taught both in the Gospels and in these uncanonical sayings, and it is this side of the truth regarding the Kingdom that has been most commonly emphasised in Christian thought. But the outward and social aspect of the Kingdom is also definitely implied in the words of Jesus, and it is this that lies at the back of the sayings now to be considered.

The prophets of old preached, doubtless with much hyperbole, the hope of a divine victory upon earth (Ps. lxxii. 16; Isa. xi. 6–9; Ezek. xlvii. 12, etc.), and the early ministry of Jesus was probably a clearer proclamation than has been usually supposed that the time was now ripe for this consummation to take place (Mark i. 15; Luke iv. 18–21). There are many passages in the Gospels which imply this hope of the open and glorious establishment of God's Kingdom, but there is no need to go farther than the Lord's Prayer to be reminded both that its coming is to be longed and prayed for and that it means the dawning of a day when His will shall be done "on earth, as in heaven." The Kingdom is already present wherever God is allowed to reign in the heart, but results follow in all the relationships of life when this is really so, and we ought to look forward eagerly to a time when all men shall thus obey His heart-rule, and so all life—social, political, industrial, international—be ordered according to His loving will.

Many in the Early Church introduced alien and unspiritual ideas into this teaching, as, for example, that the date of this event was fixed and immutable, and that Christ was to reign upon the earth a thousand years. These were the "millenarians," who literalised the dreams of the prophets and the

phantasmagoria of the apocalyptists (Rev. xx. 4), and they have successors to-day. But it seems equally wrong to go to the other extreme and call all these references to the terrestrial Kingdom figurative. Surely if the moral challenge of Jesus had been accepted by many as it was by some the Kingdom would indeed have come on earth. If the courageous example of Zacchæus, for instance, had been widely followed, with all the social consequences that must inevitably have resulted, the Golden Age would indeed have drawn near. So H. W. Nevinson says: "If such principles had ever been accepted in reality, a condition of celestial anarchy would have ensued —a state of perfect freedom, in which love alone would have directed action, and law, government, and other authoritative controls would have perished for want of use." [1] I stress this side of the truth here because it is so frequently neglected; the Kingdom is spoken of as "purely spiritual" without adequate realisation that if spiritually victorious it must also be socially triumphant, and that it is for this climax we ought to look and pray.

1. "*The days will come, in which vines shall grow, each having ten thousand shoots, and on one shoot ten thousand branches, and on one branch again ten thousand twigs, and on each twig ten thousand clusters, and in each cluster ten thousand grapes, and each grape when pressed shall yield five-and-twenty measures of wine. And when any of the saints shall have taken hold of one of the clusters, another shall cry: I am a better cluster; take me, bless the Lord through me. Likewise also a grain of wheat shall produce ten thousand heads, and every head shall have ten thousand grains, and every grain ten pounds of fine flour, bright and clean; and the other fruits, seeds, and the grass shall produce in similar proportions; and all the animals, using these fruits which are products of the soil, shall become in their turn peaceable and harmonious, obedient to man in all subjection.*"

This strange prophecy is attributed to Jesus by Irenæus on the authority of Papias, who lived in the early part of the second century. It is commonly thought to be entirely fabulous, but Westcott's comment seems to me more sound: "It is evident that this famous passage gives only a very imperfect representation of the discourse of the Lord to which

[1] *The Growth of Freedom*, p. 33; cp. p. 38 above.

it refers, for I think that it is certainly based on a real discourse. It must be observed that the narration is now only preserved in a Latin translation of a free quotation from Papias, who gave it on the authority of those who had heard St. John speak of teaching of the Lord to such effect. The history of the tradition is a sufficient explanation of the corruption which it has suffered." [1] On this view, while we cannot accept these as the actual words of Jesus, we must not just rule the passage out entirely as independent of Him. There is a real possibility that it had its origin in some reference of His to the Kingdom of God, and that it provides us with some suggestion of His teaching concerning its coming. We are not to explain it away by saying that Papias and Irenæus were millenarians; undoubtedly they were, but underneath their literalism they may well have preserved a real element of Christ's thought. We are not to allegorise it, as though it had already been fulfilled in the blessing of myriads with the "daily bread" and "the chalice of the grapes of God." [2] It means nothing less than this—the perfect enthronement through the world of His perfect will.

Now probably there was hyperbole in the original words Jesus spoke on this occasion as at other times (cp. Mark x. 30), and probably also considerable exaggeration has occurred in the course of transmission; but I believe we may take it as quite likely that Jesus did hint at changes in the vegetable and animal realms as involved in the coming of the Kingdom upon earth (cp. Rom. viii. 21). For on the first point perhaps even the Psalmist had long ago seen that when all the people praise God "then shall the earth yield her increase" (Ps. lxvii. 5, 6, A.V.); and it is certainly true that as men leave ignorance, lust, covetousness, and war in the rear the yield of harvest will be astonishingly increased. Consider the wonders of intensive culture described by Kropotkin.[3] And even as regards animals there are odd facts to be faced. Kidd narrates a number of interesting experiments from which he draws the conclusion that "if control could be obtained of the

[1] *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, Appendix C.
[2] Jackson, p. 49.
[3] *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, chs. iii, iv, v.

social heredity of a species, many of its apparently ingrained and fixed habits could be entirely changed in a single generation." [1] He demonstrates very clearly that neither fear of enemies nor many food habits are due to ineradicable instincts, as has been commonly supposed, and it follows that a new humanity upon the earth might conceivably influence the animal creation towards some approximation to the visions of Isa. xi. 6–9 and of this parable. If D. H. S. Nicholson [2] is right, and the story of Francis taming the wolf of Gubbio is historically true, then this vision is possibly not as fantastic as it may sound.

2. *So when the Lord told the disciples about the coming Kingdom of the saints, how it was glorious and marvellous, Judas, amazed at what was spoken, said : " And who then shall see these things ? " And the Lord replied : " These things shall they see who become worthy."*

The conversation here is of interest both because it provides added evidence that Jesus did so speak of the " glorious and marvellous " Kingdom and its coming, and because of its hint that by becoming worthy to see such glories we actually hasten their appearance. This is much the same truth as that declared by Peter in Solomon's Porch (Acts iii. 19–21, R.V.) that " seasons of refreshing " and " times of restoration of all things " are not due to arrive at some fixed time, but can only come as men repent and have their sins blotted out. This vital teaching has been constantly overlooked, and in consequence its call has been neglected and the Kingdom has been held back instead of being hastened.

3. (*a*) *Being asked by one when His Kingdom would come, He replied : " When two shall be one, that which is without as that which is within, and the male with the female, neither male nor female."*

(*b*) *" If ye do these things, the Kingdom of My Father shall come."*

These two sentences are from the same source, but in it they are separated by some explanatory matter. I feel strongly that an actual conversation must lie hidden here. Lock says the passage " seems too *riddling* to be quite in the

[1] *The Science of Power*, ch. x.
[2] *Mysticism of S. Francis of Assisi*, p. 376.

spirit of the Master." [1] But Mark x. 31, Matt. xxv. 29, and similar passages have a touch of the enigma about them ; and did He not speak in mysteries that those might find who earnestly sought (Mark iv. 11) ? The three clauses in the first part give us three striking elements in the " high-level " life (Matt. v. 20) to which Jesus called men. With the first clause we may link Matt. xviii. 20, where " gathered together " surely means nearness in spirit, not merely in position ; with the second, Matt. xv. 8 ; and with the third, Matt. v. 28. For those who are living in obedience to the will of God, as implied in these three verses, the Kingdom is a present reality ; if men everywhere would but live thus, the Kingdom would come upon earth. Lightfoot's summary of the writer's argument here is excellent : " Let us then patiently wait for the Kingdom of God. The time of its coming is uncertain. . . . By this saying He means that mutual harmony must first prevail, that there be perfect sincerity, and that no sensual passion be harboured." [2]

4. (*a*) *Wherefore when the Word had spoken as was fitting regarding the end, Salome asked : " How long shall men die ? " The Lord said : " So long as women bear."*

(*b*) *When she said : " Then had I done well had I not brought forth," as if it were not fitting to accept motherhood, the Lord replied, saying : " Eat every herb, but that which hath bitterness eat not."*

In these two passages we seem to have the simplest form of a strange conversation, to which there are several other references. There is one consideration which both suggests that the story may be historical and helps to explain it. There is reason to believe that Salome was the name of Zebedee's wife, which suggests at once some link with Matt. xx. 20–23 ; further, the phrase " the end " occurs several times in the Gospels, and is clearly equivalent to the coming of Christ in His Kingdom, which is the very topic dealt with in that canonical passage. It would be quite possible, then, for the opening words here to be a summary of that story, and in that case this may have been a kind of traditional sequel to that incident, the writer saying in effect : " Remember that occasion on which

[1] *Expositor*, January 1894. [2] *Apostolic Fathers*, pt. i, vol. ii, p. 236.

our Lord had spoken with Salome regarding the great climax when His Kingdom should come and yet had implied that His own death would occur; puzzled, she inquired how long death should hold sway. . . ." I have adopted a suggested emendation by which a seeming inconsistency is removed, the original implying that Salome was childless: "Therefore have I done well in that I have not brought forth."

Lightfoot has rightly argued that there is no condemnation of marriage in these sayings. "The words 'so long as women bear' seem to mean nothing more than 'so long as the human race shall be propagated.'" The final statement, too, he explains thus: "It would seem to mean very much the same as Paul's 'all things are lawful to me, but all things are not expedient,' and to accord well with the Apostle's injunctions respecting marriage." [1]

The whole incident, then, has a proper place in Christ's teaching about the last things, and harmonises well with the other sayings in this chapter. We are to look hopefully forward to the triumph of God's rule upon earth and to strive to be worthy of such blessedness. This victory cannot be achieved save by a response to a high challenge and by living on the side of the angels; there is going to be no apocalyptic appearance of God and dramatic crushing of his foes—men must live and die for these hopes, and only when sin has been conquered in their hearts will the consummation come, for "the *last* enemy that shall be destroyed is death."

REFERENCES.

1. Irenæus, *Against Heresies*, v. 33 (see Ropes, 53).
2. Hippolytus, *Commentary on Daniel*, iv (see Ropes, 53).
3. (*a*) Clement (Rome), *Second Epistle*, 12 (see A.N. extra vol.).
   (*b*) Ibid.
4. (*a*) Clement (Alex.), *Miscellanies*, iii. 9 (cp. Ropes, 26).
   (*b*) Ibid.

[1] Op. cit. p. 240.

CHAPTER XVIII

OF THE OTHER RICH MAN

THE following remarkable story is quoted in an ancient commentary in connection with the narrative of the rich young ruler in Matt. xix. 16–22 :

The other of the rich men said unto Him : " Master, by doing what good things shall I have life ? " He said to him : " Man, do the law and the prophets." He answered unto Him : " I have." He said to him : " Go, sell all that thou hast, and distribute to the poor, and come, follow Me." But the rich man began to scratch his head, and it pleased him not. And the Lord said unto him : " How sayest thou, I have done the law and the prophets, since it is written in the law, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself ; and behold, many brethren of thine, sons of Abraham, are clad in filth, dying of hunger, and thy house is full of good things, and nothing at all goes out from it to them ? " And He turned and said to Simon, His disciple, who was sitting by Him : " Simon, son of John, it is easier for a camel to enter through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of heaven."

It is introduced by a statement that it was found in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. Considerable mystery still surrounds this lost work ; it is commonly thought to-day to have been merely a late and rather careless re-hash of the canonical Gospels, but this view does not seem to me to do justice to various primitive features in several of the extant fragments of it nor to the tradition that it was an early work in some way connected with our first Gospel and with the apostle Matthew. My own conviction is that the remnants of it are deserving of the greatest respect and most careful study and that quite a tenable theory of its origin is that an original writing by Matthew entered into the composition both of the first Gospel and of this lost Gospel, and that therefore some of these surviving extracts may preserve authentic details having apostolic authority.[1]

[1] See p. 44.

Very different opinions have been held regarding this particular narrative. Baring-Gould considered it to be more probably a true account of the incident than the canonical story. He argued thus: "It is difficult to understand how a Jew could have asked, as did the rich young man, what commandments he ought to keep in order that he might enter into life. The Decalogue was known by heart by every Jew. Moreover, the narrative in the lost Gospel is more connected than in the canonical Gospel. The reproach made by our Lord is admirably calculated to bring home to the rich man's conscience the truth that, though professing to observe the letter of the law, he was far from practising its spirit; and this leads us quite naturally to the declaration of the difficulty of a rich man obtaining salvation." [1] This judgment has been quoted with approval by several more recent writers.

On the other hand, Findlay thinks that the story is the familiar one retold with Lucan colouring—there are certain similarities in phrasing to the parable of Dives and Lazarus—and adapted for a specific purpose. He says that a turn has been given to the narrative in order to mitigate the severity of Christ's words and to show that the rich man had in reality been living a heartless, selfish life, and he argues: "This reading misses the whole point of the story. At the crisis of His mission Christ wanted men who were prepared for the Kingdom's sake to sacrifice everything, and the rich young ruler could not face the sacrifice. It was that refusal, and not any deceit or neglect of the poor, which shut him out from the fellowship of Christ." [2]

Now, postponing consideration for a moment of this view of Christ's teaching, it should first be noticed that there is a third possibility as to the origin of the story. There are hints in the narrative which show that it was told as a different story from that in the canonical Gospels, and not as a rival and professedly superior account of the same incident. Findlay and most other writers seem to miss this fact. The phrase "the *other* of the rich men" implies either that the familiar story had already found a place in the narrative or at least that it was acknowledged there as a separate incident. This

[1] *Lost and Hostile Gospels*, p. 141. [2] P. 77.

is also suggested by the reference to Simon's sitting posture, which indicates quite another context than that in the Gospels, for Mark (x. 17) tells us the incident happened "as He was going forth into the way." In other words, it was not given as an alternative account, but as a different happening altogether. And it is not at all impossible that this actually was so, and that partially similar incidents did occur, in which case it is very easy to see why one story was omitted from the canonical Gospels.

But now, is Findlay right concerning the point of the canonical story? His position is in effect this, that the man was challenged to a special act of renunciation in view of the emergency of the moment and not because there was anything inherently incongruous in holding "great possessions" whilst many were in need. This is a common view of the situation, varied occasionally by such statements as that riches were this particular man's great temptation and that therefore Jesus spoke as He did. Rauschenbusch, after reviewing the Gospel teaching about riches, wittily says: "It gives a touch of cheerful enjoyment to exegetical studies to watch the athletic exercises of interpreters when they confront these sayings of Jesus about wealth. They find it almost as hard to get round the needle's eye as the camel would find it to get through. There is a manifest solicitude to help the rich man through." [1] Interpretations such as these may be comfortable doctrine for people who desire to be both wealthy and Christian, but I am confident they are utterly inconsistent with Christ's meaning. Surely they are quite out of harmony with the teaching which follows, where the reference (Mark x. 23) is obviously to *all* those "that have riches." Not only at that moment, but throughout His ministry, Jesus wanted men who would "sacrifice everything," and He wanted no other sort; nor has there ever been any other qualification for the real work to which He calls men. As we saw in the last chapter, if the Kingdom is ever to come, it can only be through a loyal acceptance of His extreme ethic. There was a crisis then, but it was due simply to the fact that men were not willing to take God seriously, to live out the high morality which in God's name He

[1] *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, p. 77.

proclaimed, and so to precipitate the Kingdom upon earth. And the same crisis has arisen in every age since.

It is a matter of sad interest that the divorce between religious profession and neighbourly conduct was so commonly made in Bible times and that it is still so frequently found. How do we miss the point, which should be so obvious, that we cannot please God if we do not share His sympathies, and that this is why " Thy will be done " is at the heart of the prayer which is itself at the heart of Christianity ? We misuse that petition if we make it resignation rather than response. Of many modern illustrations which I might quote of this divorce the two following must suffice, simply to warn us against too readily assuming that this passage is not appropriate still. A prominent newspaper some while ago in a leading article said : " It should take a great deal to persuade honest men that the construction of roads or drains is the service of God." I would ask, rather : How can honest men fail to see that we cannot serve God unless we are concerned about the needs of our neighbours, and that to make them healthy dwellings or fine highways out from fetid slumdom to the fresh country-side is essentially an act of divine service, worthy of the interest and assistance of all God-lovers ? Again, Dr. John Hunter " publicly withdrew from a mission at Glasgow when Keir Hardie proved to the hilt that the leading spirit of the mission was treating his workmen much as Pharaoh treated the Israelites." Nothing would so help the Church to-day to prepare for her real mission as a faithful acceptance of the teaching of this ancient passage, even if some so-called leaders had to scratch their heads in bewilderment and displeasure during the process.

Two points require brief comment. The reference to " the prophets " does not occur in the canonical story, but is exceedingly likely ; for Jesus did so link them with the law (Matt. vii. 12, xxii. 40), and it was in them that this " neighbour-love " teaching had reached its finest expression (Isa. i. 16, 17, lviii. 6–10 ; Ezek. xviii. 5–9, etc.). And the phrase " sons of Abraham " seems to be used with a double significance. The expression " brethren of thine " suggests that Jesus is merely employing the conventional Jewish idea

of natural descent from Abraham (Matt. iii. 9), but it is really more likely He was implying that some of these poor were sons of Abraham in the moral and spiritual sense (John viii. 39; Luke xix. 9; Gal. iii. 7, and below on page 155). Those are truly children of Abraham who, like him, obey when called (Heb. xi. 8). If, as is probable, many of the poor were making a heart response to God's inner challenge, then there is an added force in Christ's reproof. It is as though He said: "You are claiming to be a loyal Hebrew, yet here are others in the same descent, men of faith like Abraham of old, who are in need and you give them no brotherly love or help."

REFERENCE.

Origen, *Commentary on Matthew* (Latin version), bk. xv, ch. xiv (see Ropes, 18).

CHAPTER XIX

OF WEALTH AND POVERTY

WHILE most of the passages we shall study in this chapter are from Moslem writings, others are from patristic literature; it is important to notice this lest it be mistakenly imagined that the unworldly tendency of these sayings is merely some freak of Islam. As a matter of fact, asceticism finds little support in the Koran; it was imported into Islam from Arabian monasticism.[1] We are reminded, then, in this section of the strength of the tradition during the first Christian centuries that Jesus called to renunciation, unworldliness, and simplicity.

Can there be any doubt that this tradition represents a real and vital element in His thought and life, which deserves much more attention than it has commonly received and which conventional theology and practice to-day alike largely ignore? We may explain away such words as Matt. vi. 19, viii. 20, x. 9, xvi. 24, xix. 23, but they will constantly rise in judgment upon us still. Rendel Harris, in commenting on some of these Moslem sayings, says: "Our own current interpretation of Jesus has always minimised the ascetic element in His teaching."[2] And he proceeds to show reason for thinking that some modification of this estimate is necessary and that certain of these passages may be genuine. This is, I believe, a sound and exceedingly important view.

The first few passages suggest the perils attaching to wealth.

1. *Jesus said: "There are three harmful things about wealth; a man may acquire it from an unlawful source." They asked: "But if he acquire it from a lawful source?" He replied: "He may spend it upon things which are objectionable." They said: "But what if he spend it on legitimate things?" He replied: "The care of it may hinder him from the remembrance of God."*

[1] Cp. Asin, p. 337 f., and Guillaume's *The Traditions of Islam*, p. 145.
[2] *Expositor*, August 1918.

I do not suggest that we can regard this conversation as historical, but it is possible that Jesus amplified His warning against " the deceitfulness of riches " (Matt. xiii. 22) and that tradition retained some idea of His line of argument. Certainly the pitfalls that beset the man of wealth are exactly these, and though he avoids all injustice in accumulation and both folly and selfishness in expenditure, yet only by a miracle can he escape such preoccupation as will crowd out " the remembrance of God " and all that is implied therein. " How difficult it is for those who have money to get into the Realm of God ! " (Mark x. 23, as rendered by Moffatt). Can we really suppose that this miracle has taken place and this difficulty been overcome in the experience of all the wealthy Church members and officers of to-day ?

2. " *Have no regard to the riches of the Gentiles, who are of this world, for the dazzle of their riches will take away the light of your faith.*"

Here I have made use of Rendel Harris' rendering and must also quote his comment : " What makes me think this saying is genuine is not merely its evident spiritual value, but the fact that it is expressed in Biblical language. What has a Moslem to do with ' riches of the Gentiles ' ? But it says in Isaiah, ' Ye shall eat the riches of the Gentiles,' and Jesus appears to be contradicting the prophecy and setting it on one side. It must be true." [1] It is, of course, possible to argue that someone who had entered into the mind of Christ might thus borrow Old Testament language. But to me it seems to have the *feel* of authenticity, though not in a higher degree than many others of these sayings. We may remember the visit of Jesus to wealthy Tyre, to which reference was made in Chapter XII—a very possible occasion for this saying also. It was certainly a most necessary message for men who were to carry the light to the Gentiles in the first century. Was Demas (2 Tim. iv. 10) one who did not heed the warning, but allowed himself to be dazzled by the " grandeur that was Rome " ? Again, the saying is certainly not without its challenge to the descendants of the Gentiles themselves now-a-days.

[1] Op. cit.

3. *" Whoso craves wealth is like a man who drinks sea-water : the more he drinks, the more he increases his thirst, and he ceases not to drink until he perishes."*

This is a striking description of the lust for money—insatiable, torturing, destructive—and the illustration both compels attention and lingers in the memory. Tales of the sea provide many examples of wrecked and waterless mariners vainly striving to assuage thirst from the sea and at last being driven insane.

4. *The apostles said to Jesus : " How is it that Thou canst walk upon the water, whereas we cannot ? " He said unto them : " What think ye of the* dinar *and the* dirham *(pounds and shillings) ? " They said : " They are precious." He said : " But to Me they are equal with the dirt."*

We have here an interesting recognition of the fact that the wonder-working power of Jesus was not His in virtue of a peculiar nature or unique endowment, but was available for all who would fulfil the necessary conditions. He Himself urged this in various ways (Matt. xvii. 19, 20 ; John xiv. 12), but it is a lesson that has been very commonly misunderstood —witness the long-popular appeal to the miracles as proofs of His divinity. This passage differs from those cited, however, in two respects : (1) The reference is specifically to one of the nature miracles, regarding which modern thought hesitates more than in the case of healings (though we may learn some day to call nothing impossible). And (2) love of money is singled out as an example of paralysing unbelief, which, of course, it certainly is. There is probably a link of some kind with Phil. iii. 8 ; either Paul had heard such a traditional saying of Christ's regarding the worthlessness of worldly goods, or his epistle was familiar to some imaginative commentator who had caught the Master's meaning well when he penned these words. The *dinar* and *dirham* were the common Arabian gold and silver pieces respectively.

5. *" Splendour in dress, pride in the heart."*

6. *" Lay up your treasure with Him who will not waste it, for loss may be feared by him who possesses the treasure of this world, but not by him who possesses the treasure of God."*

7. *" I indeed love poverty ; riches I hold in hatred."*

In these passages the connection with the Gospels seems fairly close. There is perhaps some connection between § 5 and Luke vii. 25, where the " gorgeously apparelled " who live " in kings' courts " are spoken of, but we may also recall Mark xii. 38—" long robes " clearly suggests pride and self-centredness. It is a concise statement and an apt reminder of the relation between outward show and inward error, and by implication of the fact that true simplicity of heart means simple ways and contentment with little of this world's goods. The next saying (§ 6) is, of course, very like Matt. vi. 19, 20, of which it may be merely a paraphrase. But the circumstances that endanger earthly riches are differently stated—it is not moth, rust, or thief that may occasion loss, but dishonest banking. The warning is therefore more fitted to folk of greater means, and it is very possible that Jesus thus varied His message when amongst the wealthy. That banking was not unknown in Palestine appears from Matt. xxv. 27. Regarding § 7, if Jesus spoke as recorded in Luke vi. 20, 24, there is clearly no intrinsic difficulty about accepting this saying also as genuine ; and I consider there is no cause to doubt the Lucan record, for the variation from Matt. v. 3 is best explained as due to similar instruction being given on different occasions. We have already referred to His expressive phrase " the deceitfulness of riches," and the emphatic words of James ii. 5, 6 are also to the point. Remember, too, the constant references in the Psalms to " the poor " almost as if they were identical with the godly (Ps. x., etc.)—a line of thought which perhaps reached its finest expression in the Magnificat (Luke i. 46–55). There seems good reason, then, to think this saying well summarises Christ's thought, whether He actually uttered it or no. That His Church has commonly failed to appreciate His meaning in this respect and to apply His words practically is regrettable, but is no proof that He was wrong in His judgment.

8. *" Accept not anything from any man, and possess not anything in this world."*

I regard this passage as of considerable importance. Care must be taken in attempting to explain these words not to

explain them away. This has constantly been the pitfall into which commentators have stumbled when dealing with the Gospel teaching about money. We must recognise that both in the canonical records and in these uncanonical passages Christ's views about material possessions are extreme, and that the Church has generally lagged far behind Him in this. Apart from the exact significance or the authenticity of this or any particular saying, His whole conception of the Kingdom involves necessarily a revolutionary standpoint on this matter. To share with Him hope of and effort for its speedy coming surely means inevitably a very loose grasp upon things held dear by others. He called the wealthy ruler to no arbitrarily chosen discipline, but to an essential test. When the man went sadly away, he showed conclusively that he was not wanting the same Kingdom as was Jesus ; he was not out for the social upheaval that would certainly have resulted from a general acceptance of Christ's principles. At the same time there is exaggeration here, as often in the Master's words. He did Himself accept hospitality freely and frequently, and He allowed women to minister to Him (Luke viii. 2, 3). Surely, then, the meaning is that we are not to accept and store up goods ; what others generously give us we may use for our own and others' necessities, but we are to refrain from holding reserves and treasuring up possessions. We are never to regard ourselves as owners of property, but always as servants of the Kingdom and stewards of the liberality of God. There seems a reminiscence of this teaching in the story of the Early Church's true brotherhood : " Not one of them said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own " (Acts iv. 32). The gulf between this and modern Church life is vast, and is an indication of the distance we have travelled from Christ's hope of the Kingdom. We quoted Rauschenbusch in the last chapter—here is his challenging comment on the story just mentioned : " It is amusing to note how our popular expositors treat this Christian communism to-day. They approach it with a sort of deprecatory admiration. It is so useful for proving how noble and loving Christianity was, but it is so awkward if anyone should draw the conclusion that we to-day ought to share our property. . . . It is hard to escape the

conclusion that the bias of Luke and of modern Christians is somewhat divergent." [1] Amusing? Yes, but tragic too. It is my profound conviction that until we find a modern equivalent for that family life of the Spirit, we cannot expect the fullest blessing of God and we are not free from His condemnation.

9. *"O son of Adam! if I give thee wealth, thou wilt occupy thyself with riches to the neglect of Me; and if I make thee poor, thou wilt rest discontented and grieved at heart; and so, how canst thou know the sweet delight of praising Me? and when wilt thou haste to worship Me?"*

This—from a Persian poetical work picturesquely called the *Rose Garden*, because it is a collection of stories, maxims and verses—is of interest as giving a rather more carefully balanced thought than several of the other sayings here. It is right to be reminded that poverty has its spiritual perils as well as affluence and is not in itself a blessing. The foolish care of the poor was reproved by Jesus (Matt. vi. 25–34) as well as the careless folly of the rich (Luke xii. 13–21). It is not difficult for us to think of Him on some occasion feeling almost in despair as He saw the neglect of God which was alike a cause and a further effect of both these errors.

10. *"Repent, for it is better that a man find a cup of water in the age that is coming than all the riches of all the world. And again, Better is a single footstep in My Father's house than all the wealth of this world."*

Though part of a later legendary narrative, this was perhaps intended by the writer as a reference to recorded words of Jesus, and it is not impossible that it is a citation of some then recognised teaching. A .link of some kind must exist between the first sentence and Luke xvi. 24, and it is easy to imagine Jesus Himself speaking thus to those who had already heard that parable. "Tell men to repent," He would say in effect, "for, unless they do so, they—like Dives—will miss the very smallest happiness in the next age and will realise, as did he, how infinitely more worth gaining it would have been than the abundance of possessions for which they gave their life." It would lead us too far to consider at all fully this idea of the

[1] Op. cit., p. 120.

horror and suffering of "the age that is coming" (which undoubtedly exists in the teaching of Jesus), and its relation to the gracious and tender love of God; but the difficulty that many feel regarding it will be lessened if they remember that we are not taught definitely that there are only two "ages," the present and the future. If we wrote "stage" instead of "age" we should suggest an alternative view that may be much nearer the truth. The second sentence reads like a Christian counterpart of Ps. lxxxiv. 10, especially if the marginal reading there (R.V.) is right: "I would rather stand at the threshold of the house of my God. . . ." There is an obvious link also with John xiv. 2, which may well endear these words to us.

11. *Of all ways of addressing Him, the most pleasing to Him was when one said, "O poor man!"*

Of this Rendel Harris says: "This is pretty strong—I will not say stronger than the Gospels. St. Francis would arise and denounce me if I did. We may have undervalued the Christian tradition as to the poor man to whom the Kingdom of Heaven belongs." [1] This is an excellent way of putting the matter, and, as this whole chapter implies, I am confident both of the strength of this tradition and of the seriousness of this undervaluation. He proceeds to make an interesting suggestion about the primitive Jewish-Christian sect of the Ebionites, who were commonly said by the early Fathers to be followers of a certain Ebion, which is literally "poor man." Dr. Harris thinks this tradition may mean that, notwithstanding less admirable characteristics, they preserved the memory of the poverty of Jesus, His love of the simple life, and His preference for a lowly manner of address. The usually accepted explanation of the name "Ebionites" is that they derived from the "poor saints at Jerusalem" (Rom. xv. 26), and regarded themselves as the "godly poor" to whom the Psalms referred. The two explanations are not contradictory, of course, for if Jesus spoke thus, and as many Gospel passages suggest, such words would naturally be especially remembered and cherished by a community upon which poverty came (Acts xi. 29). Another point to be considered is that, according

[1] Op. cit.

to the Gospels, His favourite name for Himself was "Son of Man," a phrase the significance of which has been the subject of endless discussion and cannot yet be called certain. I am strongly disposed to think that, whatever ideas came to cluster round it, its original implication, as used by Him, was of "His human brotherhood and the simplicity of His personal position," [1] just as if a wandering preacher to-day, like the Sadhu, spoke of himself as "Brother Man." But the difference between that and this phrase we are considering is very slight, and it may well be that we have here a genuine though vague reminiscence of this Gospel usage.

12. *The Lord ate from a homely bowl, and made the disciples recline on the grass on the ground.*

13. *The apostle Matthew partook of seeds, nuts, and vegetables, but not flesh.*

These statements occur in a striking book called *The Instructor*, which is an emphatic call to Christians to follow the instruction of the great Teacher and to learn from Him a simple and godly way of life in contrast to the excesses and frivolities of worldly people. The chapter from which § 12 is taken is entitled, "On Costly Vessels." The word rendered "recline" is not that used in the stories of the desert feedings, so I do not think those incidents were in mind. In other words, the reference seems to me to be to Christ's habitual manner of life—humble fare and simple lodging, the sky for roof and the turf for bed and table (Matt. viii. 20)—a valuable reminder, surely. With § 13 is linked a reference to John the Baptist's diet of "locusts and wild honey," which is spoken of as temperance carried to the extreme; the whole chapter in which it occurs is a plea for simplicity in eating. It may be appropriately placed at this point in our story, for though vegetarianism can, of course, be adopted on health or humanitarian grounds and not because it is the simplest way, yet here the writer's evident intention was to quote instances of those who lived in frugality for virtue's sake.

14. *This is also one of the traditions of Christ, that one should care for those things that are necessary for the body, and be anxious about nothing further save virtue.*

[1] Adeney, *Commentary on Luke*, p. 183.

This has been thought a free paraphrase of Matt. vi. 25, 33, but it goes further than they do in its reference to legitimate care for bodily necessities—a point implied, of course, in other words and deeds of the Master. Again, surely this would be an odd way of referring to such a familiar text. It is not impossible, then, that some traditional saying which has not survived lies in the background ; but even if this is not so, the passage is still a useful summary of the teaching that we are to be *in* the world yet not *of* it, neither careless nor careworn, living simply and concentrating sensibly on spiritual riches.

15. *Let us be mindful of what Christ Himself has commanded us in the Gospel. He has said that we should, every twelvemonth, give (to God) the tithe of our increase.*

16. *The Lord Himself said that the tenth part of our goods were under our own control, both as regards land and other possessions and other acquisitions.*

These are two more of the Anglo-Saxon agrapha (see p. 70 above). It seems likely that Jesus made some reference during His ministry to the "tithe" teaching of the Old Testament. If He did so, it would surely be of this sort—that to give thus is right, but that such giving should be a voluntary not a compulsory action. One feels this idea is needed to-day. Dr. J. H. Jowett wrote once: "I have noticed that some people assume they are very generous, but it is simply because they have no system in their giving and no record of their gifts."

REFERENCES.

1. Asin, 50.
2. Ibid., 74 (see remark and footnote, p. 130).
3. See Ropes' list of Mohammedan agrapha (in *H.D.B.*), 49.
4. Margoliouth, 51.
5. Asin, 60.
6. Ibid., 34.
7. Ibid., 73.
8. *Teaching of Addæus* (see A.N. xx. 2, p. 31).
9. Saadi's *Gulistan* (see Platt's translation, viii. 91).
10. *Death of Joseph* (see J. A. Robinson's translation in *Texts and Studies*, iv. 2, p. 130).
11. Asin, 73.
12. Clement (Alex.), *Instructor*, ii. 3 (cp. A.N. iv).
13. Ibid., ii. 1.
14. Theodore the Monk's *Catena on Matthew* (see Pick, p. 115).
15. *Blickling Homilies*, iv. (see R. Morris' edition).
16. Ibid.

CHAPTER XX

OF INCIDENTS AT JERICHO AND JERUSALEM

Most of the passages in this chapter narrate familiar stories from the Gospels, but with variations introduced by early writers. It ought not to surprise us that such variant accounts are found, for many reports of what Jesus said and did must have passed from one to another and for a long time have been floating about. Early copyists may well have introduced changes into their MSS. as a result of such information, and later writers also may have varied their quotations of Gospel stories by what they had heard on good authority. The possible influence upon the narrative of some of the *dramatis personæ* of the Gospel story, their friends and descendants has been largely neglected in estimating the value of early variants in the text and of early traditions outside it. How far the variations noticed here are probably due to this cause and how far merely to literary or other whims is, of course, open to argument, and each must be considered on its merits.

1. (*a*) *When Jesus called blind Bartimæus, he rose, took up his garment and came to Him.*

(*b*) *Jesus said unto him : " What wilt thou that I should do unto thee ? " And the blind man said unto Him : " My Lord and Master, that Thou mayest open my eyes, and I may see Thee."*

There are two interesting variant readings here, of which the second is the more important—the phrase " that I may see Thee." Rendel Harris says: " A more exquisite gloss—if it be a gloss—it would be difficult to imagine." [1] J. A. Findlay speaks of it as a " beautiful reading, which ought to be true if it is not." [2] I do not suggest that it properly belongs to the original record and has dropped out ; the weight of evidence is entirely against that. But it may be an addition by some early writer on good authority ; for example, the man himself may have told the tale thus during long years after it occurred. The request is, of course, less natural than that of

[1] *The Diatessaron*, p. 33. [2] *Jesus as they saw Him*, p. 43.

the ordinary version, but it reminds us of the eagerness of Zacchæus in the companion story and of the general curiosity aroused concerning Jesus (Mark vi. 14; Matt. xxi. 10; Luke xxiii. 8). It accords, too, with the man's reference to Jesus as "Son of David." If he had come to believe that this much-talked-of man from Nazareth was the long-promised Christ, it is conceivable that the desire to see Him and share in the ecstasy of the coming Kingdom would swamp every lower consideration. Regarding the other variant—the statement that he "took up his garment" instead of casting it away (Mark x. 50)—Mrs. A. S. Lewis has an interesting note, in which she says that Orientals "will more readily put on some outer garment when they are summoned into the presence of a superior than divest themselves of anything."[1] It therefore also harmonises with the man's evident homage and sense of the dignity of Jesus.

2. Zacchæus was praying in his heart, and said: "Blessed is he whosoever shall be found worthy, that this just man may enter into his house." And the Lord said unto him: "Make haste, and come down from thence, Zacchæus." When he had understood that the Lord had known his thought, he said: "If He knew this thought, He understands all things that I have ever done." Therefore he answered: "All things that I have ever taken from any man wrongfully I will restore them fourfold."

This version of the Zacchæus story hails from Edessa, in Syria. We should notice the following points about it: (1) The novel touches in the narrative are all from Zacchæus' own standpoint and deal solely with the workings of his mind. (2) Zacchæus would be more likely than many others to write a statement of what took place, for his business necessitated both the taking of notes and the making of reports. (3) It is quite possible that such a traditional account of the incident from his own pen would be preserved in Palestine for many decades after his death. (4) Though Edessa is a good way from Jericho it is not far from Antioch, where many early records and reminiscences must surely have found a home.

But whatever the origin of the vivid tale, there can be no doubt that it is extraordinarily true to life. If Zacchæus'

[1] *Light on the Four Gospels from the Sinaitic Palimpsest*, p. 69.

interest in Jesus had become strong enough for him to act as Luke tells us he did and to run the gauntlet of the crowd's amusement, it is extremely likely that there were in his heart (however they had been aroused) a belief that Jesus was a just man, a gnawing envy of those who were near Him, and some feeling of regret that he himself was unworthy to be within that charmed circle. He would, further, naturally interpret Christ's action as a proof of His majesty, and in view of that, while the look of infinite mercy was also fastened upon him, would surely rush to confession rather than await rebuke.

3. *But when they saw His power, that He accomplished what He would by word, they urged Him that He should enter the city and cut down the Roman soldiers and Pilate and rule over us. But that one scorned it. And thereafter, when knowledge of it came to the Jewish leaders, they gathered together with the High-priest and spake: "We are powerless and weak to withstand the Romans. But as withal the bow is bent, we will go and tell Pilate what we have heard, and we will be without distress, lest if he hear it from others, we be robbed of our substance and ourselves be put to the sword and our children ruined." And they went and told it to Pilate.*

This strange paragraph is part of a long passage found only in the Slavonic version of Josephus, where several such interpolations occur. As already stated,[1] their real value is far from certain, but they may incorporate very early material. This extract is remarkable for its clear description of the kind of entry that would have pleased the Jews and for the odd statement that when they found Christ obdurate they suggested the peril of the situation to Pilate as a means of saving their own skins. The same idea of the dangerous possibilities ahead just at this point is also given to us in John xi. 47, 48, and is no doubt accurate. Upheaval was implicit in the new faith (Acts xvii. 6).

4. *The Christ came in, when He entered the Holy City, sitting upon an ass, on the day of the palm-trees. The children of Israel met Him with olive-trees and palm-branches, with their wives and children. The babes and sucklings adored Him, saying: "Hosanna to the Son of David; blessed is He who cometh! King of Israel." The priests of the Jews said to the Christ: "Hearest Thou not what these say? Doth not their saying exalt Thee when they adore Thee as God is adored?" The Christ said to them: "Have ye not read in the psalms of the prophet David*

[1] See p. 37.

that he said by the Holy Ghost, Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings Thou hast pre-ordained Thy praise?"

5. When He cast out the traders from the Temple, a certain fiery and starry light shone from His eyes and the majesty of Godhead gleamed in His face.

We have in § 4 an alternative account of the entry, which Rendel Harris thinks may be more primitive than those in the Gospels.[1] It agrees with John in the statement that a procession from Jerusalem met and acclaimed Jesus, but is alone in the mention of "wives and children." It should be noticed that the canonical narratives do not mention children at this point in the story, though "Palm Sunday" hymns give that impression. In fact, the only reference to them (in Matt. xxi. 15) seems very awkwardly introduced, and would be much more apt if such a statement as we are considering had preceded. This passage has several other interesting features —the "olive-trees," the description of David as "prophet," and the form of the priests' grumble. The following passage (§ 5) gives an effective reminder that the power by which Jesus purged the Temple was not—as is commonly argued—physical force. One man can only turn hundreds to flight by moral strength and spiritual vigour. It is difficult to understand how this point has so often been missed and this incident quoted as if it sanctioned the use of the sword. The Gospels contain several other examples of the might of unarmed godliness (Luke iv. 30; John vii. 44, xviii. 6), and Church history many such.[2]

6. A certain woman was taken in sins, against whom all bore witness that she was deserving of death. They brought her to Jesus to see what He would command, in order that they might malign Him. Jesus made answer and said: "Come ye, who are without sin, cast stones and stone her to death." But He Himself, bowing His head, was writing with His finger on the earth, to declare their sins, and they were seeing their several sins on the stones. And filled with shame they departed, and no one remained but only the woman. Saith Jesus: "Go in peace, and present the offering for sins, as in the law is written."

This form of the story, commonly found at John vii. 53–viii. 11, probably dates from early in the second century, and as such is deserving of careful notice. When we consider the two versions and ask which has the more primitive appearance, it

[1] *Testimonies*, pt. i, p. 47. [2] See *The Arm of God* (cp. footnote, p. 70 above).

is true that this form is shorter than the canonical and that very often the shorter of two readings is the original. But a truer criticism is that the harder is more likely to have been altered to the easier than vice versa. Now the definition of the woman's sin as adultery and the words of Jesus " Neither do I condemn thee " were commonly felt in early days to be objectionable features. Augustine mentions that the story was omitted by some " from a fear lest their wives should gain impunity in sin." Since this account of the incident eliminates these points, its derivative character seems clear.[1] It does appear possible, however, that it is right—whether through tapping a sound tradition or by making a happy guess—regarding the meaning of Jesus' writing on the ground. This action has commonly caused perplexity, and it seems insufficient to say, as, for example, Alford does : " The habit was a usual one to signify pre-occupation of mind or intentional inattention. . . . It does not follow that anything was actually written." [2] Without supposing the details of their individual lives were miraculously made public, surely it lends colour to the story to think that He reminded them of their sinfulness, not only in word, but by the specification of particular sins, leaving it to their consciences to appropriate and allocate these to themselves. If, further, this was done on stones, say with chalk—the very stones which they wanted to use against her—the challenge of His action must have reinforced that of His words immensely. On another occasion He spoke of the possibility that " the stones would cry out " in praise of God and in rebuke of the ungodly ; perchance now He let them do so.

REFERENCES.

1. (*a*) The Sinaitic Syriac MS. (see footnote, p. 139) ; the opening clause is my summary of the story.
(*b*) Arabic *Diatessaron* at xxxi. 33 (see Hamlyn Hill's edition).
2. Ephraem Syrus, *Gospel Commentary*, 15 (see Hamlyn Hill's dissertation upon it, p. 34).
3. See *The Gnostic John the Baptizer*, by G. R. S. Mead, p. 107.
4. *On the Triune Nature of God* (see Mrs. M. D. Gibson's edition, p. 30).
5. Jerome on Matt. xxi. 12 (see James' *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 8) ; the opening clause is my summary of the story.
6. The Edschmiadzin (Armenian) MS. (see Conybeare's article in *Expositor*, December 1895).

[1] See Dr. Bacon's article in *Expositor*, March 1905.
[2] His *Commentary*, loc. cit.

CHAPTER XXI

OF HIS TEACHING IN PARABLES REGARDING THE PREVALENCE OF EVIL AND THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD

THE three quaint parables in this chapter are less likely than most of the rest of the material gathered here to have any direct connection with Jesus. They occur in the *Gospel of Barnabas*, an extraordinary compilation, at present only known to exist in an Italian MS. at Vienna. There is an English edition from which these extracts are made; in its introduction full details and discussions regarding it will be found.

It seems practically certain that the book is a mediæval Moslem production, the work of some renegade Christian. It retells the Gospel story in the interests of Islam—Jesus being made to predict the coming of Mahomet, and so forth. There is no trace of or evidence for an Arabic original, such as Mohammedans affirm exists.

It is a difficult question, however, whether the writer made use not only of the Bible and the Koran (with a liberal admixture of imagination), but also of an early apocryphal or Gnostic work of the same name as that which he gave to his book. We know that an apocryphal Gospel attributed to Barnabas existed in the fifth century.[1] The editors discuss the matter fully and are inclined to accept the possibility. They mention a few possible traces of it, including these and other parables, which they speak of as "of great beauty." They seem to have no relation to Moslem teaching, and in at least one case to tend rather against it, as we shall see. It is quite possible, then, that these stories do date from an early period, and that if not Christ's own, they are at least the work of someone who had well caught His spirit; they certainly seem to enshrine elements of Christian truth.

[1] See *H.D.B.*, vol. v, p. 438.

Each of them recalls one of those dramatic stories told by Jesus in the later part of His ministry to suggest His thought upon the trend of events; and though the point is different in each case from the canonical parallel, yet taken together the underlying thought is much the same—that men were now sinfully rejecting God's purposes for them, but that His wise providence was undefeated.

1. *"There went forth many men to sell figs. But when they arrived at the market-place, behold, men sought not good figs, but fair leaves. Therefore the men were not able to sell their figs. And seeing this, an evil citizen said: "Surely I may become rich." Whereupon he called together his two sons and said: "Go ye and gather a great quantity of leaves with bad figs." And these they sold for their weight in gold, for the men were mightily pleased with leaves. Whereupon the men, eating the figs, became sick with a grievous sickness."*

We are reminded here of the parable of the Husbandmen (Mark xii. 1–9), not so much by the story itself as by the hint of the prophets' unavailing attempts to win the Jews to the choice of good. It would be difficult in the space of so few sentences to frame an apter illustration of the silly contentment of men with the worst things and the evil effect upon them of the wrong choice. To think the showy fare the best and to refuse the solid food of truth is an extraordinarily common mistake. The Baal-worshippers in Elijah's day and the people who devour the trivialities of the Sunday press in our own are alike examples and warnings. "Sick with a grievous sickness" is a fitting description of such mis-fed folk. It is also terribly true that the emissaries of evil become rich by providing such unwholesome nourishment while many a true prophet weeps under a juniper-tree because of his unwanted wares.

2. *"There was a man who paid ill, wherefore none that knew him would go to till his fields. Whereupon he, like a wicked man, said: "I will go to the market-place to find the idle ones who are doing nothing and will therefore come to till my vines." This man went forth from his house, and found many strangers who were standing in idleness, and had no money. To them he spake, and led them to his vineyard. But verily none that knew him and had work for his hands went thither."*

The parable of the Labourers (Matt. xx. 1–16) evidently lies in the background here—in fact, this is almost a negative form of it. Just as God finds work for all who are willing to serve Him and treats them generously and graciously, so "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do" and pays them with "the wages of sin," which is death (Rom. vi. 23). The last sentence of the parable links experience of sin's recompense with a right activity in good works as alike deterrents from evil. These are certainly two aspects of the truth, though, of course, they do not comprise the whole truth.

3. "*There was a man who had great possessions, and in his territory he had desert land that only bore unfruitful things. And so, as he was walking out one day through such desert land, he found among such unfruitful plants a plant that had delicate fruits. Whereupon this man said: "Now how doth this plant here bear these so delicate fruits? Assuredly I will not that it be cut down and put on the fire with the rest." And having called his servants, he made them dig it up and set it in his garden. Even so, I tell you, that our God shall reserve from the flames of hell those who work righteousness, wheresoever they be.*"

In this case, too, we find familiar imagery used in a fresh and interesting manner; there is just that touch of originality that we should expect if Jesus were the author. We are reminded especially of the parable of the Fig-tree in Luke xiii. 6–9, but also of the words about fruit-bearing in Matt. vii. 16–20 and John xv. 1–8. There is, too, perhaps a hint of the remarkable appendix to the parable of the Husbandmen given in Matt. xxi. 43. The distinct novelty is the clear teaching that God accepts any in any land or of any religion who act rightly according to their light. It is the message of Acts x. 35 exactly, and one would like to think that Jesus so taught during his lifetime, whether or not in this form. This point deserves special attention, for this is not the regular doctrine of Islam. The English editors in their Introduction, for instance, aptly quote the Koran (ch. 3) to show the contrast: "Whosoever followeth any other religion than Islam, it shall not be accepted of him, and at the last day he shall be of those that perish." To find teaching here so clearly contrary to

Islam suggests that in this case at least we have an early Christian element preserved.

It is perhaps worth while to remark that all the above-mentioned canonical parables were based on the old and familiar allegory of the vineyard (Isa. v. 1–7); in view of the fact that Jesus thus took up and adopted in various ways that illustration, it cannot be thought impossible that He should use yet again the same material for other teaching still.

REFERENCES.

1. See *The Gospel of Barnabas*, edited and translated by Lonsdale and Laura Ragg, p. 305.
2. Ibid., p. 175.
3. Ibid., p. 185.

CHAPTER XXII

OF JESUS CONDEMNING THE FALSE RELIGION OF THE JEWISH LEADERS

THAT Jesus condemned the religious leaders of the Jews in very strong language is abundantly clear from the Gospels, and it should be noticed that He did so not only on the occasion of the great outburst recorded in Matt. xxiii., but at several other times too (Luke xi. 39–48, xiii. 15, xvi. 15). It is quite likely, then, that other such words may have been spoken on various occasions, and not at all surprising that some are found in extra-canonical literature. This chapter contains the longest and most considerable of these, which are also of a direct address and emphatic tone that remind irresistibly of the principal passage mentioned above. In the following chapter several brief words of reproach will be found with others not spoken directly to those condemned, but revealing the same disappointment and distress that are so evident in all these utterances.

1. *"O Doctors and Teachers of the law! you have sat down in the way of the world to come; you do not walk in it yourselves in order to reach heaven, and you do not permit others to walk in it and to reach heaven. But the ignorant is more excusable than the learned."*

This saying was found by Dr. Mingana in an Arabic MS. entitled *Book of the Beautiful Admonition*. The writer was a Spanish mystic of the thirteenth century, who culled interesting aphorisms from Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan sources. We are, of course, reminded inevitably of Matt. xxiii. 13, but this includes a picture of obstruction not in the canonical text, which aptly points its message and may be authentic. As Mingana says about these sayings generally: "To say that they have simply been invented by the writers who quoted them is an hypothesis which does not seem to be very attractive." [1] The closing sentence is similar to Luke xii. 47, 48, of which it may be a dim memory.

Expository Times, May 1916.

The other paragraphs I shall quote here really form one long Moslem passage which has been divided up for convenience' sake. It may be argued that a lengthy address of this sort is less likely to be due to sound tradition than are brief, pointed sayings—the latter could so much more easily be treasured in memory and handed down by word of mouth. But it is not suggested that this is a verbatim account of what Jesus said. If there were early Gospel narratives, long or short, which did not find a place in the canon (Luke i. 1–4)—if outside the regular channels reminiscences were passed on orally by those who heard or saw Jesus and by their descendants—if these grew, both by legendary accretion and by sympathetic imagination, especially in ascetic circles of Arabia far from the great centres of Church activity and controversy, and if in the seventh century there was an influx from these circles into Islam—then it does not seem incredible that some of the illustrations here, and even occasional details of wording, may be genuinely from Jesus Himself.

2. *" Ye evil scribes, ye fast and pray and give alms, but what ye command ye fulfil not, and what ye teach ye do not perform. Evil is your judgment ! Ye repent in words and fancy, but act according to your lust. What avails it to cleanse your skin when your hearts are foul ? "*

I have here preferred " scribes " to Margoliouth's rendering " scholars." [1] His word is ambiguous in English, meaning both " pupils " and " men of scholarship " ; if he intends the first, there is an unfortunate suggestion of " disciples "—which is evidently not the meaning ; if the second, then surely " scribes " or " lawyers " gives the meaning better in Biblical language, for they were the men of learning in the times of Jesus. The implication clearly is that they prided themselves on their knowledge while they were, in fact, erring exceedingly. We should notice the linking of the same three religious duties as in Matt. vi, but in an order which would appeal more to ascetics. The main thought—of preaching without practising—is found in Matt. xxiii. 3, " they say, and do not." The contrast of skin-cleansing and heart impurity reminds us of the story in Chapter XVI.

[1] Asin has " sapientes."

3. *" Verily I say unto you, be not like the sieve, whence the good corn goes out and the husks remain. Even so with you : ye cause wisdom to issue from your mouths, while hate remains in your hearts."*

The metaphor is perhaps neither very exact nor quite effective, but the meaning is clear and important. It is so easy to say what we do not feel, to speak wisely and yet be worldly, to render lip homage to God while the heart is far from Him (Matt. xv. 8). We may recall also Matt. vii. 15, remembering that prophets are men from whose mouths wisdom is supposed to issue. The use of " Verily " is, of course, frequent in the Gospels.

4. *" Ye slaves of this world, how shall he win the future life, whose desire for the things of this world is not yet sated and whose lusts are not yet finished ? Verily I say unto you, that your hearts shall weep for your actions. Ye have set the world under your tongues, but good works under your feet."*

Regarding this, we cannot say that there is no right appeal to the thought of the future life, its pains included (Luke xvi. 23). In reaction against false imagery and over-emphasis we have commonly neglected it far too much. The use made of the conception here is of a high order—" your hearts shall weep for your actions " ; this is immeasurably superior to the lurid and terrifying pictures of torture in which Moslems and Christians alike have gloried. The sense of the last sentence appears to be : " While in speech you have scorned worldliness, you have, in fact, trampled down what is right and good."

5. *" Verily I say unto you, ye have spoiled your future, and the prosperity of this world is dearer unto you than the prosperity of the next. Who among mankind is more unfortunate than you, if you only knew it ? "*

The closing remark throws back the thought to the claim of these men to knowledge and wisdom, and at the same time leads on to the next paragraph, where their ignorance is further exposed. We are reminded also of several familiar texts where their lack of understanding called forth the pity of Jesus (Luke xix. 42, xxiii. 34).

6. *" Woe unto you ! Guides ! Ye show the path to them that travel by night while ye yourselves stand still in one place like those that*

are bewildered; quite as if ye exhorted those who enjoy the things of this world, with this intention only, that they may leave to you their things little by little."

7. *" Woe unto you! What does it profit a dark house that a lamp be set on the roof thereof, when all is dark within? Even so it profits you not that the light of knowledge should be upon your mouths when your hearts are destitute of it."*

The ironical " Guides ! " recalls Matt. xxiii. 16, 24. " Make their journey by night " may be a parallel expression to " them that sit in darkness " (Luke i. 79). The illustration in § 7, of course, reminds us of Matt. v. 15, but the use of it is different ; there it is the world that is pictured as a dark house, here the individual soul ; there warning is given against hiding the God-given light, here a rebuke that the light has never been really welcomed to the heart. It is an emphatic statement of the worthlessness of a superficial enlightenment and culture, and we may recall Paul's similar protest (1 Cor. xiii. 2).

8. *" Ye slaves of this world, who are neither like fearful slaves nor men gifted with freedom, soon will the world pull you out by the root, and cast you on your faces, and push you from behind, till it hand you over naked and destitute to the Angel who dispenses good and evil, who after showing you your wickedness will punish you according to your evil deeds."*

The opening clause recalls, though not in its actual wording, Matt. vi. 24, where Jesus urges the folly of part-time religion, so to speak, such as these " Doctors and Teachers of the law " were in reality engaged in. The vividness of the picture of calamity forcibly suggests the maze of disaster into which worldly thought and conduct so often lead ; we remember *The Scarlet Letter*. It is interesting to observe that this passage of rebuke and condemnation ends thus on the note of penalty, as does the corresponding canonical passage (see Matt. xxiii. 33–36).

REFERENCES.

1. See above.
2. Asin, 53 (with which compare Margoliouth, 54).
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.

CHAPTER XXIII

OF THE SORROW JESUS FELT ON THEIR ACCOUNT AND OF HIS PRAYERS FOR THEM

We shall consider next a number of passages which in various ways remind us that the life of Jesus did not work out in orderly fashion according to a pre-arranged plan, but that a great apostasy took place—the Jews failed to respond to the great challenge and so "frustrated God's purpose for themselves" (Luke vii. 30, Moffatt's translation). The canonical passages which impress this most forcibly are Matt. xi. 21–24, xxi. 33–45, xxiii. 37.

It may be objected that Jesus foretold His death, and that the prophets of old had predicted it. But it is worth noticing that there are no clear predictions in the Gospels of His death until the great crisis in the middle of the story. And the Old Testament passages that are quoted in support of this idea are all susceptible of the much more obvious and spiritually suggestive interpretation that every true servant of God—yea, and God Himself—must ever suffer in all the world's refusal of His will; it was insight rather than foresight that the prophets showed in these wonderful utterances, and Jesus fulfilled them much as He fulfilled the law (Matt. v. 17), not by carrying out the details either of their precepts or of their predictions, but by carrying on the spirit of their message to its fullest and finest and final expression. This is the only view of the matter that puts a true emphasis on the moral aspect of His death—that it was black tragedy, and the cause of unspeakable sorrow to Jesus and to God Himself.

I feel the sayings gathered here are of great importance as bringing before us with fresh vividness and striking emphasis this half-neglected fact. It is too frequently forgotten that the cross was a crime before it became a creed; Jesus died because men were evil enough to kill Him. He was the "man of sorrows" not because He endured a burden of punishment

placed upon Him by God in our stead, but because He declared to men God's gracious purpose for the world and had to bear the awful horror of their refusal. It is a tragedy of love flouted, blessedness scorned, and hope disappointed. The fact that hope remains undefeated still—that love bore the rebuff and ceaselessly renews the offer—this is the crowning triumph of grace and the supreme glory of the cross. And we may well enter more deeply into the awful wonder of this gospel as we ponder here the solemn majesty of the divine grief.

1. *" A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him."*

This and the following saying are from Oxyrhynchus ; they are much better preserved than many such. The first half of § 1 has a parallel in each of the Gospels, but is much closer to Luke iv. 24 than to the others. Rendel Harris calls attention to the discontinuity in the speech of Jesus as given by Luke—" it jumps from an unsuccessful physician to an unappreciated prophet "—and thinks that in Luke's source both parts appeared as here, but that he omitted the second on professional grounds, just as he left out Mark's depreciatory reference to the doctors (v. 26).[1] This is an attractive hypothesis, which has the double merit of adding verisimilitude to the narrative and of giving a reason for the abrupt transition in Luke's report. The words appear to me to deepen the pathos of the Nazareth visit and to bring vividly before us His desire to help and heal, and His regret that they hindered Him (see Mark vi. 5, 6). I have placed the saying first in this group as probably belonging to His earliest experience of rejection, when it was not yet certain that the same sinful mistake would be made more widely than in His own country and by His own kin.

2. *" I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them, and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them, and My soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart and see not."*

The authenticity of this saying has been commonly dis-

[1] *Expositor*, June 1922.

puted. Sanday, for example, says it is "unlike the language which our Lord Himself used while among men." [1] But surely it is quite a possible utterance for anyone who spoke as in John vi. 51, vii. 37, xvi. 28. And personally I am much less prepared than many now-a-days to rule out these and such sayings. When I remember the lofty regions of thought and language in the Synoptics (Matt. xi. 27, xviii. 20, xx. 23, xxiii. 37, xxv. 31) as well as in John, I am constrained to think that modern theology fails sometimes to appreciate the wonder of the personality with which it has to deal, and so comes too readily to some conclusions about what He could not have said or done. We should notice, too, that both the illustrations used are familiar—blindness, chiefly of how He found men in His day (Matt. xxiii. 16; John ix. 39–41); drunkenness, of how in view of their present condition He feared He might find them in the future (Matt. xxiv. 38, 49; Luke xvii. 27, xxi. 34). There is, of course, exaggeration ("all . . . none . . ."), but it is quite such as He might well use when speaking to His few loved ones in the passionate agony of sorrow shortly before His death.

3. *How that He was distressed agrees with what He said: "How long shall I be with you and speak with you?" And in another place: "I am weary of this generation. They proved Me," He said, "ten times, but these twenty times, and ten times ten times."*

This occurs in the course of an exposition of the story of Lazarus and the distress of Jesus at the tomb (John xi. 33–38). The opening sentence is very like Mark ix. 19, but with "speak" for "bear." With the next, the words in the same text should be compared, "O faithless generation," and also Ps. xcv. 9–10. But Num. xiv. 22 is nearer still, and must certainly be involved. It appears to me that we have here an accurate record of some rebuke of Christ's in which He quotes the past and compares the people of His own day. That He should speak thus will not appear at all strange if we compare Mark viii. 12; Matt. xii. 39, xvi. 4. And the intensity of the emotion expressed will be the better understood the more deeply we enter into the meaning of His hope of the Kingdom

[1] *Two Lectures on the Sayings of Jesus*, by Lock and Sanday, p. 36.

and His agony that men would not allow that hope to be realised.

4. *" The Gentiles are justified more than you."*

5. *He says, by way of reproach, to Jerusalem : " Sodom is justified rather than thou."*

It is not quite certain that these words are even attributed to Jesus, for some writers think them merely a rough summary of Ezek. xvi. 48–52. He did, however, so compare those who rejected Him both with the Gentiles and with the people of Sodom (Matt. xi. 21–24 ; cp. x. 15), and He may very possibly on some other occasion have gathered the indictment into a couple of striking phrases thus. Notice Isa. i. 10, Rev. xi. 8, for the identification of Jerusalem with Sodom " spiritually." And in His laments over Jerusalem (Matt. xxiii. 37 ; Luke xix. 42–44) He showed that that city was under awful condemnation. In all these passages Old Testament phraseology is freely borrowed, and it would be quite in His manner to use the words we are considering with the Ezekiel prophecy in his mind. We are not, of course, to suppose that either Galilee or Jerusalem was more vile sensually than Sodom, but that God's estimate of sin is very different from man's (Matt. xxi. 31 ; Luke xviii. 14). To reject the most gracious appeal possible was to incur the greatest possible guilt. The Jews refused God's home-call (John i. 11–12), and in so doing sinned to an extreme degree (Matt. xxi. 41, 43 ; 1 Thess. ii. 15–16). No teaching of atonement can satisfy an enlightened conscience which does not give full scope to this side of truth. The death of Jesus was by murder—it ought not to have taken place, and need not have, for sin is not necessary. The love that bore even this uttermost sin long-sufferingly found its most wonderful expression in so doing, and still waits longingly for men to reverse this shameful verdict. The cross saves by winning men to this great act of faith, and so making them at one with God instead of at enmity.

6. *" Thou hearest in one of thine ears, but the other thou hast closed."*

A much-mutilated fragment from Oxyrhynchus has been thus conjecturally emended by Swete.[1] But as it may evidently be merely the beginning of a longer and quite different saying, we cannot accept the proposed emendation as anything more than a brilliant guess and an interesting possibility. Should it be fairly correct, the saying is, as Evelyn White says, "a masterly analysis of the attitude of those who instinctively close their hearts to unwelcome truth."[2] We may compare Mark iv. 9, 16, 18.

7. *"Wherefore do ye not perceive that which is reasonable in the Scriptures?"*

This occurs in close proximity to other passages, from each of which the writer draws the same lesson, that we are to discriminate "what of the Scriptures are true and what are false." This is early witness against the idea of verbal inspiration.[3] If he has caught the meaning of Jesus, the saying is clearly of great importance. The legalistic disputations of materially minded rabbis and scribes regarding the letter of the law were one element in the worldliness that rejected Jesus, and it is quite possible that He spoke these words in condemnation of them and in appeal that they should probe to the soul of the ancient written word as to the heart of His own message. Had they done that, they could never have murdered Him, and by so doing have missed the great chance of truly fulfilling the glorious hopes and promises enshrined in their own Scriptures.

8. *"Ye are sons of Cain, not sons of Abraham."*

The nearest canonical passage is John viii. 39–47, but this is surely allied in thought with that rather than a quotation of it. It appears to me an exceedingly concise statement of Christ's condemnation of the Jews and of the reason for that condemnation. To be a son of Abraham meant to be, like him, a man of faith (Gal. iii. 7); this was the ground of the approval bestowed on Zacchæus—he was saved because, like Abraham, he accepted God's challenging call and went out obediently from his old life into strange, untrodden paths (Heb. xi. 8). Similarly, "children of Cain" implies that, like

[1] *Expository Times*, September 1897. [2] P. 45. [3] Cp. p. 51.

him, they had murderous thoughts—their lack of faith and their intent to kill could hardly be more effectively stated than by the use of such a phrase. It is implied in 1 John iii. 12 and Jude 11, which may well look back to some such statement by Jesus Himself. That He felt their earliest antagonism was of this criminal character seems evident from Mark iii. 4, where he says in effect: "Who is doing God's will on the Sabbath, I in giving health or you in plotting murder?" But the words here, with their awful stress and reproach, may well belong to the later period of His ministry, when their purpose had become definite and their refusal final. That He should speak so emphatically cannot surprise those who ponder Matt. xxiii.

In the earlier part of this chapter the thought of the sinfulness of men's refusal of Jesus has been before us; in the following paragraphs the idea is rather of God's dealings with those guilty of this sin, and especially of Christ's prayer for their pardon.

9. *The apostles said to Christ: "See this Temple, how beautiful it is!" And He said: "My people, My people! Verily I say unto you, God will not leave of this Temple stone standing upon stone, which He will not destroy on account of the sins of this people. God has indeed no concern with gold or silver or the stones which you admire. Dearer to God than all these things are good hearts; for the sake of such He makes the earth to blossom, but when they are not good He lays it waste."*

We may have here merely an imaginative elaboration of Mark xiii. 1, 2 and parallel passages. There are two small differences in the first half—the pathetic form of address, "My people, My people," which gives a vivid and moving tone to the whole, and the definite attribution to God of the destruction of the Temple. The last half of the saying is quite new, and carries forward the point just mentioned. The laying waste did, of course, actually take place in A.D. 70, when Jerusalem was captured by Titus and destroyed, and this event was commonly thought of by Christians as an act of God. Similarly, God is constantly pictured in the Old Testament as using war and destruction as His tools; consider especially the references to Cyrus in Isa. xli. 2, xlv. 1. How

far can we think this in accord with the mind of Christ? Did He Himself so speak? We should hesitate to say He did not, in view of Mark xii. 9 and parallel passages. But we may quite legitimately suppose He thought of God not as deliberately choosing such ways of dealing with His rebellious children, but as regretfully allowing them to bring upon themselves the consequences of their sin. He does not will that they should play with fire, but the very existence of a rational universe may depend upon the fact that they are burnt if they do play with it, and to that extent the devastation they have made inevitable is within His will. It seems quite reasonable to suppose that Christ's words convey no more and no less than this.

10. "*But give heed lest ye also suffer the same things as they; for the evil-doers among men receive their reward not among the living only, but also await punishment and much torment.*"

As regards the words "punishment" and "torment," it seems certain from a number of passages in the Gospels that Jesus used them of God's dealings with men after death. The first represents a Greek word which means "pruning," so that its significance is remedial discipline, not retributive penalty. The second occurs twice in the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Luke xvi. 23, 28), where it is not clearly stated whether the process is to be deemed temporary or permanent, but the original sense of the word, a "touchstone," strongly suggests an examination or testing. Further, it is used of diseases (Matt. iv. 24) which Jesus healed, as is the verb from the same root (Matt. viii. 6); and in Matt. xviii. 34 the "tormentors" are clearly described as functioning for a time only, "till he should pay." It is surely evident, then, that Jesus is here warning of the processes of correction and purging in the after life, which is an aspect of His message that has been commonly overlooked, but is capable of great and valuable influence. We should not be afraid of it because of its apparent link with the Romanist doctrine of purgatory.

11. "*He will cleanse the house of His Kingdom from every stumbling-block.*"

This occurs in the course of an exposition of Luke xvii. 20–24. The argument appears to be that Christ's return is delayed until He has completed a work of purification throughout all creation. This certainly harmonises with the truth to which I have just referred, that God's dealings with His erring children are all by way of corrective chastisement (Heb. xii. 6), and it reminds us also that only the pure in heart can see God. All impurities must be cleansed away before we can stand in His presence with exceeding joy (Jude 24, 25), and His Kingdom be fully manifest (Rev. xxi. 3, 4).

12. *" My Father, they know not what they do, nor what they speak, yet, if it be possible, forgive them."*

13. *" If Thou punishest them, they are Thy servants; but if Thou forgivest them, Thou art the Mighty, the Wise."*

14. *The thing which exceedingly grieved Him is this, that by those very persons for whom, as for sons, He did battle, He was assailed, on account of their ignorance. And yet He loved even those who hated Him, and wept over the unbelieving, and blessed those who slandered Him, and prayed for those who were in enmity against Him. And not only did He do this as a Father, but also taught His disciples to do the like, bearing themselves as towards brethren.*

These passages all tell of Jesus praying for His enemies. There is no reference in any of the contexts to the crucifixion, and it is very possible that a different tradition than Luke xxiii. 34 is represented here. We shall see later (Chapter XXVII) that it is not at all certain when the words of that text were spoken. It seems useful, then, to include here evidence of the strong belief that He did so pray, though it may remain doubtful whether from the cross or at some other time or on more than one occasion. The second passage (§ 13) occurs in the late Spanish work referred to in the last chapter, but the words are also found in the Koran, not as words of Jesus during His earthly life, but prophetically, as spoken to God " at the last day." The saying may have no other tradition underlying it than the Gospels, but even so it is a striking statement of what men felt Christ stood for upon this question—that God had the right to punish and yet revealed His power and wisdom more fully in forgiveness—and it is interesting to receive it from the pen of Mahomet.

In § 14 it is not clear to what Gospel passage the clause " blessed those who slandered Him " refers, and it may be that it preserves a hint of some further act or word of grace. The stress upon the wickedness of Christ's murderers and upon His sorrow because of it makes this passage a fitting climax to this chapter, where these ideas have been illustrated. I am convinced that these points have been much less appreciated than they should have been, and that it is positively harmful to talk vaguely of Christ bearing our sins and not to make it clear that He died at the hands of sinful men because God's love in Him was great enough to endure even this extremity of wickedness and to endeavour still to save. It is useful to notice that in the context the hope and purpose of all this is spoken of as that " eternal peace might be produced."

We are reminded here also, not only that Jesus lived and died in strict accordance with the teaching He had proclaimed, but that His followers are to identify themselves alike with the principles expounded and the conduct practised. To enter into the fellowship of His sufferings is not to sorrow sentimentally over His death for us, but to share His efforts for the world's redemption by His methods, to regard sinful men therefore as near and dear relatives, and if they take advantage of our kindness or assail us even to the point of death to allow them to do so and still to love them forgivingly and forbearingly, enduring, if necessary, with Him the disappointment and grief of their refusal, in the hope that at last they will turn from enmity to friendship, from war to peace and at-one-ment.

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1. Oxyrhynchus Papyri, i. 6 (see G.H.).
2. Ibid., i. 3.
3. Ephraem Syrus, *Gospel Commentary*, 17 (see Ropes, 66).
4. *Apostolic Constitutions*, ii. 60 (see A.N. xvii).
5. Ibid.
6. Oxyrhynchus Papyri, i. 8 (see footnote, p. 155).
7. *Clementine Homilies*, iii. 50 (see A.N. xvii).
8. Aphraates, *Homilies*, xvi. 8 (cp. Pick, p. 68).
9. Asin, 62.
10. Oxyrhynchus Papyri, 840, opening sentence (see G.H.).
11. Ephraem Syrus, *Gospel Commentary*, 18 (see Pick, p. 84).
12. Syriac *Didascalia*, 6 (see Mrs. M. D. Gibson's edition, p. 32).
13. Quoted by Dr. Mingana in *Expository Times*, May 1916.
14. *Clementine Homilies*, iii. 19 (see A.N. xvii).

CHAPTER XXIV

OF THE COMING TRIALS THROUGH WHICH HIS FOLLOWERS WOULD HAVE TO PASS, BUT THAT THE CITY OF GOD REMAINETH

In this chapter a group of passages will be presented which appear to belong to that period of the life of Jesus when it had become clear that the Jews were really going to reject Him, and when it was therefore necessary to forewarn the disciples of the troubles that would ensue. These were of several kinds —the disappointment of family divisions, some crowning Christ and some crucifying Him; the open antagonism of worldly powers, described as "wolves"; and the more subtle attacks of false teaching and ambition. Several of the sayings include the thought of blessing in spite of and because of trial, and I have added others to this effect, ending the chapter upon the note of the Master's assurance of final victory.

1. *"Those who wish to see Me and to lay hold of My Kingdom, must receive Me through tribulation and suffering."*

This is almost certainly a genuine word of Jesus, despite various views to the contrary. The words sound extraordinarily like Him, but as Froude, in one of his essays, says: "The thought is everywhere in the Gospels, the words nowhere, nor anything like them." [1] Jesus is reported as having frequently spoken of men "receiving" Him (Matt. x. 40, xviii. 5; John xiii. 20), though in quite different connection from this. The nearest canonical passage is Acts xiv. 22, and the odd appearance of "we" in that verse should be noted. Different explanations of it have been given, but I think we can most easily understand the use of the word if a saying of Christ's were being referred to. It would then be a perfectly natural way either for Paul to speak or for Luke to write.

[1] *Criticism and the Gospel History.*

2. *" I am not come to send peace on earth, but a sword ; and henceforth you shall see father separated from son, son from father, husband from wife and wife from husband, mother from daughter and daughter from mother, brother from brother, father-in-law from daughter-in-law, friend from friend."*

Though it reminds us of Matt. x. 35 and Luke xii. 53, this varies much from them ; the separated and conflicting persons are very differently stated, neither canonical version mentioning husband and wife, brother and brother, or friend and friend. This appears to me the more natural set of references, but of course it may be merely a rough paraphrase. The teaching is familiar and does not require much exposition. One of the earliest amongst the troubles that beset Christ's followers is to be misunderstood by loved friends and either to suffer exclusion from their circle or to find oneself growing away from them in interest and outlook. It is, of course, in heathen lands that this truth receives its most dramatic fulfilment, as, for example, in the experience of Sadhu Sundar Singh when he was converted. But if this has no counterpart amongst us, it may not be because society is any less antagonistic to real Christianity, but because our response to His call is less absolute. To follow closely in His steps means separation from many thoughts and ways that are both convenient and conventionally right.

3. *" Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves." But Peter answering said unto Him : " What, then, if the wolves should tear the lambs ? " Jesus said unto Peter : " Let not the lambs fear the wolves after they are dead ; and ye also, fear ye not them that kill you and are not able to do anything to you ; but fear Him that, after ye are dead, hath power over soul and body, to cast them into the Gehenna of fire."*

Again we are very near to several Gospel parallels (Matt. x. 16, 28 ; Luke x. 3, xii. 4, 5), but there are some differences, of which the chief is the interruption of the teaching by Peter's question. It is surely clear that this can hardly be a case of faulty memory, and it is therefore a different type of problem from that frequently before us, where the Gospels may have been accidentally misquoted. This must either be a correct reminiscence or a deliberate elaboration. I prefer the former

view, for it would be odd if such words as these of Christ's had not at first aroused comment and query; doubtless, too, 2 Esdras v. 18 was familiar to the disciples, where "the shepherd that leaveth his flock in the hands of cruel wolves" is spoken of with reproach, and a reference of this sort to that text would be perfectly natural. The second sentence of the reply to Peter is rendered much more paradoxical than either of the corresponding canonical texts by the omission of "the body" and by the unqualified statement "not able to do anything to you"; surely this is just one of those extreme statements, well calculated to arouse thought, in which Jesus, like other great teachers, delighted. There is an almost exact parallel in Plato, where the words of Socrates are reported thus: "Meletus and Anytus can do me no harm. They may indeed kill me, or drive me into exile, or deprive me of my civil rights; and perhaps Meletus and others think those things great evils. But I do not think so." [1]

4. "*If they persecute you in this city, flee ye to another; and if they persecute you in the other, flee again to a third.*"

5. "*Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for they shall be called the sons of God.*"

These are comparatively unimportant variants of familiar texts. In § 4 we have a form of Matt. x. 23 given by several MSS. and writers; it seems equally possible to think of it as an elaboration or as the original utterance, from which an apparently unnecessary clause was omitted. While it does not add anything considerable to the thought of the text, the suggestion that persecution was likely to persist and the stress upon willingness to endure repeated tribulation are both of interest. Trials were not to be allowed to tire them easily. The precept was literally obeyed by Paul and Barnabas in the cities of Galatia (Acts xiii. 50–xiv. 20). In the context of § 5 these words follow: "Or as some of those who transpose the Gospels say, Blessed are they who are persecuted by righteousness, for they shall be perfect; and, Blessed are they who are persecuted for My sake, for they shall have a place where they shall not be persecuted." This suggests that there must

[1] *Apology*, 18 (Church's translation).

have been variant versions of the beatitudes current then, the relative values of which it is impossible for us now to determine.

6. *" He who is near Me is near the fire ; he who is far from Me is far from the Kingdom."*

Several early writers quote this interesting saying ; it is commonly accepted as authentic, and several interpretations have been suggested. (1) The fire of love, inspiration, power. Luke iii. 16 and Acts ii. 3 may include this idea, which frequently occurs in Christian devotional writings, as for example :

> Kindle a flame of sacred love
> In these cold hearts of ours.

So, too, in *The Imitation of Christ* we read : " Who, standing by a great fire, doth not receive from it some little warmth ? " [1] (2) The consuming fire (Mal. iii. 2 ; Luke iii. 17 ; Heb. xii. 29). " God is terrible because He inflicts penalties on those who oppose Him," comments one writer who cites this saying. (3) But a more attractive and quite possible meaning is the fire of persecution (cp. Luke xii. 49). Very similarly Ignatius says : " And why have I also surrendered myself to death, to fire, to the sword, to the wild beasts ? But he who is near to the sword is near to God ; he that is among the wild beasts is in company with God." [2] It is accepting this interpretation that I have placed the saying in this connection, as though Jesus, foreseeing the perils by which His friends would be encompassed, gave them this encouragement : " To follow Me may bring you to persecution, but even that is worth enduring, for to refuse to follow would mean to miss the Kingdom."

7. *" There shall be false apostles, false prophets, factions, desires for supremacy."*

There are several other sayings somewhat similar to this in early writers, and while none of them may exactly reproduce the words of Jesus, I am confident they do represent a reminiscence that is partially independent of the Gospels. Only the second of the four phrases here is canonical (Matt. vii. 15, xxiv. 11), but Paul's words in 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19 seem to imply his

[1] Cruise's translation, iii. 4.

[2] *Epistle to the Smyrneans*, 4.

knowledge of such teaching. I have adopted the translation "factions" with the R.V. margin for the word literally rendered "heresies" in that passage, for the latter term has now-a-days a definitely narrow connotation, while the reference here is probably to quarrelsomeness rather than to doctrinal differences. With the last of the four phrases compare the words of Clement of Rome: "Our apostles also knew, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be strife on account of the office of the episcopate."[1] There were, of course, several occasions during the ministry of Jesus when He had to reprove them for seeking to be first and chief (Mark ix. 33–37, x. 41–45; Luke xxii. 24–27). It is worth noticing, too, that in the book where this occurs Peter is represented as speaking "with tears" about this warning and the way it was already being proved true. It is perhaps not a sign of growth in the Church that similar failings cause so little sorrow to-day.

8. "*I give unto you power to tread on serpents, and on scorpions, and on scolopendras, and on all the might of the enemy.*"

This varies from Luke x. 19 only in the insertion of the words "and on scolopendras." The alteration, though slight, is interesting, for the scolopendra (or centipede) may well be taken to represent the tiniest form of sin, as the serpent and scorpion the greatest and the more ordinary respectively. In that case the promise is of complete supremacy over evil, however big and powerful, however commonplace and persistent, however subtle and insidious. It is not impossible that Jesus linked these three creatures thus as suggestive of the variety of man's moral foes.

9. "*Be ye brave in war, and fight with the old serpent, and ye shall receive an everlasting Kingdom.*"

In its Latin form this is the text of an old English sermon of about the twelfth century, of which two MSS. are in existence. There is no suggestion that the writer thought it of less authenticity than other passages he quoted. The opening words of the sermon are of interest: "This word which I now declare unto thee, our Lord uttered at a time when He dwelt in the land of Jerusalem, and admonished all that were there

[1] *First Epistle*, 44 (see A.N. i).

to fight bravely; and because the fight was strong to master and difficult to undertake, He promised them great reward, provided they would undertake the conflict." The definiteness of this statement, linking the saying with the earthly life of Christ, is certainly a point in favour of some early authority lying behind it and so of its possible authenticity. The metaphor, "the old serpent," is, of course, familiar to us through Rev. xii. 9, xx. 2. There is no example of it in the canonical words of Jesus, but it was quite an obvious illustration in view of the familiar story of Gen. iii. 1, and as a matter of fact we know from the Old Testament apocryphal literature that it was in common use. It is, therefore, easy to suppose Jesus employed it, whether He actually thought of wickedness as the work of one mighty evil spirit or merely personified it in order to speak intelligibly to His contemporaries who did so believe. Strangely enough, the other illustration here, of the Christian life as a conflict, does not appear in the Gospels either—with the partial exception of Luke xiv. 31. It is, of course, frequent in the Epistles and over-frequent in hymnology. It is impossible to say Jesus could not have used it without sanctioning material warfare, for He illustrated truth by dishonesty (Luke xvi. 1–9) and in many strange ways. And in the context of such sayings as are grouped in this chapter its aptness is obvious; the perils of the way make discipleship a strenuous enterprise and demand the uttermost courage.

10. *He commanded to be watchful, circumspect and well-instructed, since that ancient enemy goeth about attacking the servants of God, and not tempting in one respect only.*

The nearest canonical parallel is 1 Peter v. 8, and the writer here may have had that passage in mind, and simply meant to suggest that this teaching came from Christ in the Spirit. But the context rather suggests a link with the earthly life of Jesus, this command being cited as a result of His far-seeing care for men, "lest any brother be again seized in the snares of the devil." And surely there is nothing in it that we would have been surprised to find in the Gospels. Of the three commands, the first is emphasised in Mark xiii. 35, 37, etc., though with a partly different significance. The refer-

ence to " that ancient enemy " recalls the last two passages and their canonical parallels. There is also certainly a reference to Job i. 7, ii. 2, but not one that Jesus Himself might not have made. The title of the book in which this saying is found is *Concerning Gamblers*. The connection between its theme and this teaching is evident. Of all " the wiles of error " (Eph. iv. 14) gambling is probably the most subtle, and the necessity for watchfulness against this ancient evil is no less now than when these words were spoken or penned. A further extract from the same book occurs in the next chapter.

11. *Out of which trials He has promised to deliver us, and clothe us with prepared garments if we do His commandments; and has undertaken to provide an eternal Kingdom.*

Froude, in the essay quoted above, also mentioned this as an instance of an early reference to teaching by Jesus which has not come down to us in the Gospels, and it certainly has that appearance. The opening and closing words might be regarded simply as a vague summary of certain canonical passages, but the phrase " clothe with prepared garments " seems to have no such parallel. The idea of being suitably clothed for life in heaven occurs in Rev. vi. 11 and elsewhere in that book and other apocalyptic literature. It does not appear unlikely that Jesus made some reference to this circle of ideas, and spoke not only of going " to prepare a place " for His followers, but of seeing that fit garb was also ready for them there. The passage is interesting because it clearly suggests that deliverance from sin and the endowment of the soul for eternity are alike for those " who do His commandments," and we are at once reminded of the constant emphasis in the Gospels on practical obedience (Matt. vii. 24, xxviii. 20 ; John xiv. 23, xv. 10, etc.). The blessings are contingent upon faithfulness.

12. " *Ye need not be sad nor troubled in your hearts, for I will intercede for you with the Father, that He may preserve you through His heavenly power.*"

13. " *When ye see growing and blowing all the fruits of the earth, and the fragrant odours exhaling from plants, then soon afterwards they shall dry up and dwindle away on account of the summer's heat.*"

We have here two further sayings from the Anglo-Saxon Homilies quoted previously.[1] The one (§ 12) is important as providing a possible basis in Christ's own words for the phrase "intercession" found at Rom. viii. 26 and Heb. vii. 25. The other (§ 13) is a warning of the brevity and frailty of all earthly things—including human life, however apparently fragrant and fruitful—with an implied call to trust in the unseen reality "that fadeth not away." Of the many canonical parallels, 1 Peter i. 23–25 is the closest.

14. "*A city built upon the top of a high hill and stablished can neither fall nor be hid.*"

Our last passage here—an Oxyrhynchus saying—is generally spoken of as a conflation of Matt. v. 14 and vii. 24, 25, perhaps under the influence of Isa. ii. 2. But we may notice that it differs from all these canonical passages in several respects, and it is surely at least as likely that we have here an independent tradition regarding the words of Jesus. Remembering that many a city has "fallen" in war, the suggestion seems to be that the City of God is firmly based and will remain in spite of all assault. The nearest Gospel passage, then, is really Matt. xvi. 18. Read thus, the saying is very appropriate at the close of a chapter dealing with warnings regarding the varied difficulties in front of the Church; in spite of all such trials, we are to be confident, not merely of individual redemption, but of the triumph of the cause. One is glad to think that some such hopeful assurance was given by Jesus.

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1. *Epistle of Barnabas*, 7 (cp. A.N. i).
2. *Clementine Recognitions*, ii. 28 (see A.N. iii).
3. Clement (Rome), *Second Epistle*, 5 (see Ropes, 51).
4. Codex Bezae (cp. Pick, p. 60).
5. Clement (Alex.), *Miscellanies*, iv. 6 (see A.N. xii).
6. Origen, *Homilies on Jeremiah*, xx. 3 (see Ropes, 62).
7. *Clementine Homilies*, xvi. 21 (cp. A.N. xvii).
8. Justin, *Dialogue*, 76 (see A.N. ii).
9. See R. Morris' *Old English Homilies*, i. 16, ii. 30.
10. Pseudo-Cyprian, *Concerning Gamblers*, 5 (cp. Pick, p. 109).
11. Justin, *Dialogue*, 116 (see A.N. ii, slightly adapted).
12. See R. Morris' *Blickling Homilies*, xii.
13. Ibid., v.
14. Oxyrhynchus Papyri, i. 7 (see G.H.).

[1] Pp. 70, 137.

CHAPTER XXV

OF THE STRANGE HOLY PRESENCE THAT WOULD EVER ABIDE WITH THEM IF THEY BUT OBEYED HIS COMMANDS

VARIOUS uncanonical sayings seem to give Christ's promises to the disciples regarding their spiritual experience of His presence after His death. It is necessary to remember that there is good authority for the lack—which will be observed here—of any clear distinction between the Holy Spirit and the Living Christ.[1] The experience is essentially one, however variously expressed.

A point to be noticed in a number of these passages is that this divine communion is only for those who yield the necessary response and obedience. We should recollect that we continually find promise and condition thus linked in the Gospels.[2] This will be more fully dealt with below, but it is hinted at in the first saying.

1. "*My mystery is for Me and for the sons of My house.*"

A principle of spiritual selection is always at work—those who choose to fit themselves by obedience are chosen for higher privileges of fellowship and service. It is to as many as receive Him that He is able to give power to become sons of God (John i. 12), and it is only to such that "the mystery of the Kingdom" can in the nature of things be revealed (Mark iv. 11). We may compare a sentence in *The Imitation of Christ:* "Happy they who penetrate into eternal things and endeavour to prepare themselves more and more by daily exercises for attaining to heavenly secrets."[3] We may observe that Farrar quoted this saying at the head of Chapter XXIII in his *Life of Christ.*

[1] See John xiv. 16, 18, 23; Acts xvi. 6, 7; Rom. viii. 9, 10.
[2] Notice especially Matt. xviii. 20, xxviii. 20; John xiv. 21–23.
[3] Cruise's translation, iv. 1.

2. *" Wherever there are two, they are not without God, and wherever there is one alone, I say, I am with him. Raise the stone and there thou shalt find Me ; cleave the wood and there am I."*

This is an Oxyrhynchus passage. The first half—as thus reconstructed—is parallel to Matt. xviii. 20, but with a promise added for solitary folks. There is also patristic evidence that Jesus so spoke. Regarding the second part of the saying, various interpretations have been suggested, but the most usual and probable sees in it a hint that honest toil is the way to realise the Master's presence. Harnack speaks of it as a protest against the idea that the presence of God is only to be obtained by fasting, prayer, and meditation, and Evelyn White paraphrases it thus : " No matter where or how lonely you may be, whether you are only two or even one ; no matter that you are at your daily task—hard, common work—God is present with you there." [1] Dr. Henry Van Dyke has written a hymn around this idea, of which the first verse is as follows :

They who tread the path of labour follow where My feet have trod ;
They who work without complaining do the holy will of God.
Nevermore thou needest seek Me ; I am with thee everywhere ;
Raise the stone, and thou shalt find Me ; cleave the wood and I am there.[2]

It should be noticed, further, that there is clearly some kind of dependence upon Eccles. x. 9. J. H. Moulton preached a forceful sermon to the boys of the Leys School, Cambridge, linking it with that passage and suggesting that Jesus may well have spoken somewhat thus : " Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time, He that moveth stones shall be hurt therewith, and he that cleaveth wood is endangered thereby. But I say unto you, Raise the stone, and there thou shalt find *Me* ; cleave the wood, and there am *I*." [3]

3. *" For there are not two or three gathered together in My name, and I not amongst them."*

This negative form of Matt. xviii. 20 is substituted for that text in several MSS. Evidently there was some tradition,

[1] P. 40. [2] See *Fellowship Hymnbook*, No. 91.
[3] *A Neglected Sacrament*, p. 83.

oral or written, that Jesus spoke in this more emphatic way perhaps on a different occasion from that recorded in Matthew, and for some reason these copyists felt it right to put the stronger form in their text. That it is a more telling and trenchant expression of the truth seems clear ; it is as though He would remove every possibility of doubt, every last shred of uncertainty.

4. *" Ye have Me ever present among believing men, through the glory of My divine nature."*

5. *" I will not leave you without a leader, but I will send you the Paraclete."*

These are two more of the Anglo-Saxon agrapha. That in § 4 is quoted by the homilist to prevent the statement in Mark xiv. 7 being read too literally : " Ye have the poor with you always, but Me ye have not always." It sounds somewhat as if a genuine utterance had been rather mauled in process of transmission or translation. But we may note the conditional nature of the promise—" among believing men " —which harmonises well with the other passages here. In § 5 we are near to John xiv. 18 ; it is chiefly of interest because it helps to make the point clear (as does the following passage) that the work of the Spirit is not primarily to comfort. Paraclete is, of course, the English form of the Greek word incorrectly rendered " Comforter " in both English versions (see R.V. margin).

6. *" When I am ascended to My Father, I will send you the Spirit, the Paraclete, that He may teach you everything which it is meet for you to know and to make known."*

Is this " a mere expansion " of John xiv. 26 ? The differences are sufficiently great to make it very uncertain. Neither in that text nor in the several allied passages—xiv. 16, xv. 26, xvi. 7–13—is there any reference to the ascension. The limiting clause, " which it is meet for you to know and to make known," is also new, the last phrase adding a point of real value—that the spiritual guidance which is promised is not given for personal blessing merely, but also that truth may be imparted to others. With this missionary element in it the

saying is in accord with Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, where the precept of commission and the promise of communion are so closely linked. The context of the passage is of interest—whether historical or not—for it tells of the perplexity of the apostles in the days before Pentecost as to how they were to carry out their work amongst people of strange languages. Peter is represented as counselling them not to be anxious regarding the matter, for it "pertaineth not to us, but to our Lord," and this promise is quoted as a proof that He would care for them and lead them through their difficulties.

7. *"Everything that is not before thy face, and that which is hidden from thee, shall be revealed to thee. For there is nothing hidden which shall not be made manifest, nor buried which shall not be raised."*

8. *His disciples say unto Him: "When wilt Thou be manifest to us, and when shall we see Thee?" He saith: "When ye shall be stripped and not be ashamed."*

Of these two Oxyrhynchus sayings, the first gives—perhaps more picturesquely than the canonical parallels (Mark iv. 22; Matt. x. 26; Luke viii. 17, xii. 2)—the promise of increasing knowledge and of unfolding truth. We should not take such words as referring to a revealing of the secrets of every life at a future judgment before the assembled universe; for while we cannot think of God as a respecter of persons, we must think of Him as respecting personality and its rights. The suggestion is clearly that during this life as well as afterwards the Christian disciple is to grow in the knowledge of God's will and grace. The other passage (§ 8) has commonly been linked with two included in Chapter XVII (§§ 3, 4), as though they were three accounts of one incident. I think this an error, and that the story has a very different significance from either of the others. Notice the following points: (1) The questioners, the questions, and the replies are all different in each of the three cases. (2) Curiosity about these matters and frequent questions of this kind are exactly what we should expect in the records of one who spoke and lived as Jesus did. It is extremely likely that He was so interrogated on not a few occasions, and we need not be surprised that the queries are somewhat akin. (3) The reply here may refer not to purity

(as is generally thought), but to persecution. Stephen found Jesus manifest to him when He was stoned, and for Thecla and others—literally stripped naked and persecuted " for righteousness' sake "—loyalty to Christ under stress was the way to fuller experience of His presence. This interpretation has the advantage of harmonising with other passages where the word " ashamed " occurs, especially Mark viii. 38; Rom. i. 16; 2 Tim. i. 12.

9. *" He who seeks Me will find Me in children from seven years old, for there concealed I shall in the fourteenth age be made manifest."*

10. *" Ye see Me in yourselves as one of you sees himself in water or mirror."*

These passages are not very clear or convincing. The underlying idea of § 9 seems to be that of Luke xvii. 21—that there is a hidden seed of goodness in the soul; it suggests that this may be detected from childhood's years, but that at adolescence it becomes clear to those who seek, and the kinship of this with the Spirit which was in Christ is such that He could properly speak of it as His own presence in the hearts of men. It may also be thought of as a parallel to Matt. xviii. 5, spoken by Jesus on some occasion in puzzling language to arrest attention and arouse thought; we may be confident He did sometimes so perplex intentionally. But more probably it is a later and heretical reflection on the basis of that text. The suggestion of § 10 is that Christ is to be found within the heart by those who seek, but that the vision of Him is dim and appears like a mere reflection of oneself. Paul uses the mirror illustration, though rather differently, in 1 Cor. xiii. 12, a useful comment upon which states that " we are to think rather of the mirrors of polished metal used in ancient times, the reflections of which would often be obscure and imperfect, than of our modern looking-glasses." [1] This suggestion of difficult vision is, of course, also given by the reference to water, though in neither case is the analogy at all exact. If this is the meaning, James i. 21–25 may imply knowledge of the saying. As a kind of parallel to both these sayings, the following interesting passage may be added from Plotinus in reference to those who

[1] Lias in *Cambridge Greek Testament* (loc. cit.).

press in to the deep secrets of spiritual experience: "They see themselves in others. For all things are transparent, and there is nothing dark or resisting, but everyone is manifest to everyone internally and all things are manifest; for light is manifest to light. For everyone has all things in himself and again sees in another all things, so that all things are everywhere, and all is all and each in all, and infinite the glory." [1]

11. *"In whatsoever things I apprehend you, in those I shall judge you."*

This saying is much better attested than many of the agrapha, nearly a score of instances of it being found. It is usually explained in some such way as this: "A renegade cannot plead that he once was a true man; on the other hand, the Lord will not cast it in the teeth of a penitent that he once was an enemy." [2] Interpretations of this kind suggest that if Jesus spoke thus of finding or coming upon the disciples He was referring either to the moment of their death or to a catastrophic second coming. Both references are quite possible, and in either case the saying connects naturally with Matt. xxiv. 46 and kindred passages. But it is worth remembering that He often spoke of coming again through the continual visitation of the Spirit. In this case it is John xiv. 21–23 that gives us the clue, and the meaning is simply that we always receive the measure of communion and enrichment that we are judged worthy to possess. The gifts of the Spirit are not arbitrarily dispensed; God has no favourites. Spiritual law is invariable, and ever lovingly at work, sifting, judging, and exactly fitting grace to need. If we do not receive answers to our prayers, it is because we are not fulfilling the necessary conditions (Mark xi. 24; Matt. xviii. 19, 20). If the promise of the divine companionship is not fulfilled for us, it is because we have not obeyed the precepts of the divine commission (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20).

12. *"I will select to Myself the good, those good ones whom My Father in heaven has given Me."*

It has often been thought that this is hardly Christian in

[1] Cited by G. R. S. Mead in *The Gospels and the Gospel*, p. 198.
[2] Jackson, p. 28.

spirit. Menzies asks: "Could this come from the same mouth which said, 'I came not to call the righteous, but sinners'?" [1] I think it could, if we take fully into account the principle of spiritual selection of which I have already spoken. The call is without doubt freely given for all to accept, but it is also a call "to repent"; the invitation is to "any man" (John vii. 37), but only such as alter their lives are received (Luke ix. 23). This is the meaning of the second part of the parable of the Marriage Feast (Matt. xxii. 11–14). We can have what is offered, but only if we satisfy certain requirements. Those who do so are singled out for fuller communion; those who fit themselves become worthy to be chosen for higher service. Even so, a captain of a cricket team picks those whom he considers most qualified, and a military officer those he can best rely upon for some responsible duty. I admit that there is just a suggestion of something a little arbitrary in the second clause here. But in John xvii. 6 the same idea occurs of God giving chosen ones to Christ, and the addition is made, "and they have kept Thy word," which corresponds to "the good" in this passage. So we might paraphrase the saying here thus: "I will make myself more fully known to those who by God's grace become good; because they are willing for His will, they are fitted by Him for fellowship and labour; so I choose them for more onerous tasks and thank Him for His gift."

13. *"Grieve not the Holy Spirit which is in you, and quench not the light which has shone in you."*

We may have here merely a loose conflation of Eph. iv. 30 and 1 Thess. v. 19. But it is quite possible Jesus Himself so spoke, in which case those are examples of passages based on sayings of Jesus and embedded in the Epistles without any indication of their original source. It certainly seems likely that Paul was in touch with reliable authorities concerning the life of Jesus (observe Acts xx. 35) and may well have included in his writings some sayings of which we have no other knowledge. I take this to refer not so much to the "light which lighteth every man coming into the world" (John i. 8) as to

[1] *H.D.B.*, vol. v, p. 342.

the special gifts of inspiration and enlightenment received by those who become worthy to share the " mysteries " with their Lord. Having been so privileged, they are to beware of unholy influences by which this spiritual experience may be marred. It is another extract from the book *Concerning Gamblers* cited in the last chapter, and the connection with that topic is obvious ; and we may remark, too, that even to-day Christ's disciples need to be on their guard against subtle forms of this evil.

14. " *Though ye be gathered together with Me in My bosom and do not My commandments, I will cast you away, and will say unto you, Depart from Me ; I know you not whence ye are, ye workers of iniquity.*"

The nearest canonical parallel is Luke xiii. 26, 27, and it is not certain that this is more than a loose memory citation of that text. The phrase " in My bosom " is equivalent to Luke's " eaten and drunk in Thy presence " ; in fact, it seems likely that these phrases were more or less interchangeable. The emphasis of the passage is, of course, a very important one—that the appearance of discipleship is not enough and will not gain the prize of the divine intimacy. To be associated with Christ and His Church and yet to be disobedient to His commands means condemnation and exile from His real presence. We can only enjoy His spiritual companionship if we obey Him. It is a heart-searching message.

REFERENCES.

1. Clement (Alex.), *Miscellanies*, v. 10 (see Ropes, 59).
2. Oxyrhynchus Papyri, i. 5 (see G.H.).
3. Codex Bezae (cp. Griffinhoofe, p. 114).
4. See R. Morris' *Blickling Homilies*, vi.
5. Ibid., xii.
6. Syriac *Teaching of the Apostles* (see A.N. xx. 2, p. 37).
7. Oxyrhynchus Papyri, 654, 4 (see G.H.).
8. Ibid., 655 (see G.H.).
9. Hippolytus, *Refutation of all Heresies*, v. 2 (see A.N. vi).
10. Pseudo-Cyprian, *Regarding Mounts Sinai and Sion*, 13 (see Ropes, 63).
11. Justin, *Dialogue*, 47 (see Ropes, 55).
12. Eusebius, *On the Divine Manifestation*, iv. 12 (see Ropes, 20).
13. Pseudo-Cyprian, *Concerning Gamblers*, 4 (see Ropes, p. 344).
14. Clement (Rome), *Second Epistle*, 4 (see Ropes, 50).

CHAPTER XXVI

OF THEIR LAST HOURS TOGETHER AND OF THE BETRAYER

EXTRA-CANONICAL passages relating to the events that led up to the betrayal and death of Jesus are not numerous and cannot be considered of great value. But several of them are closely connected with the Gospel narrative with just such small variations as we have frequently before found of interest and sometimes of importance.

1. *" For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show forth My death until I come."*

These words are attributed to Jesus in various early books and liturgies. They are, of course, allied to 1 Cor. xi. 26, but it is not certain what the connection is, for Paul may be either making a comment of his own or intending to quote the words of Jesus; it is not at all impossible that Jesus should speak in the third person of Himself (Matt. xvi. 28, etc.). The word rendered " show forth " is that commonly used for " preach " (Acts xiii. 5, etc.). Is the meaning as Jackson puts it: " The celebration of the Holy Communion is thus a divinely-appointed means of preaching the Gospel " ? [1] Or is the truth simpler still—that as often as we eat and drink in true remembrance and sincere dedication, we invariably go forth in God's strength to declare by word and deed the message of which the cross is the epitome ?

2. *" The hour is come when I must be taken away from you. The spirit truly is willing, but the flesh is weak. Tarry then and watch with Me." But the apostles wept, whilst they said to Him : " Blame us not, O Son of God ; what is then our end ? " Jesus answered and said unto them : " Fear ye not lest I should be destroyed, but yet the more take courage. Fear ye not before the presence of the power of death. Remember all that I have said unto you. If they have persecuted Me, they will also persecute you. Rejoice ye, then, that I have overcome the world."*

3. *" I give My back, that thou fall not a prey to death."*

[1] P. 16.

The restoration and exact intention of these two extracts from the papyri are not quite clear. The first is part of a Coptic fragment which is in too torn a condition to be satisfactorily deciphered, and the reconstruction quoted here is very tentative—no reliance must be put upon particular words. The general drift of it as a farewell conversation between Jesus and the disciples seems fairly clear. The second (§ 3) is from a poem written in an odd rhythm, which appears to be one of the oldest Greek Christian hymns extant. There is clearly a link with Isa. l. 6, but it is difficult to say definitely of what kind. The ascription of the words to Jesus may be either merely a result of reverent imagination or an indication of the writer's conception of the Eternal Christ having spoken through the prophets. But the possibility that Jesus Himself did so adopt and adapt the ancient passage has also to be borne in mind. It has often seemed strange that those "Suffering Servant" passages of Isaiah were not more quoted by Him, and this is certainly an apt expression of His willing acceptance of pain and death at the hands of and on behalf of men. By His loving endurance of the agony inflicted on Him by sin He demonstrated that the love of God is longsuffering and "beareth all things," and ever since then the message of the cross has been "the power of God unto salvation," winning human hearts from the clutches of the deathly foes that prey upon them.

4. *Now when they had sung a hymn, after eating according to custom, He said again: "This night ye shall be offended according to the Scripture. I will smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered." When Peter said, "Even though all, yet not I," He said: "Before second cock-crowing this day thou shalt deny Me."*

This, of course, much resembles Mark xiv. 26–30 and Matt. xxvi. 30–34, but there are two small verbal differences from the canonical passages, which it is not easy to bring out in English. The words for "cock" and "crow" are more frequently employed than those used in the Gospels. I have varied the usual translation to bring out the point that "before the cock crow" refers to a regular time-mark rather than to a special event. The meaning of "again" is not clear, if the

reconstruction is correct. A more important point is that there is nothing corresponding to Mark xiv. 28 and Matt. xxvi. 32—a difficult verse in view of the persistent tradition that the resurrection appearances were primarily at Jerusalem. The fragment has been thought by some to be from one of those early narratives to which Luke refers in his preface.

5. (*a*) *He said that no one untempted should attain to the heavenly realms.*

(*b*) *" Watch and pray," He said, " that ye enter not unexpectedly into temptation." And so they were tempted, because they fell asleep, so that they failed the Lord after His arrest ; and he who continued with Him and used the sword even denied Him three times.*

The two parts of this are in the reverse order in the original, the one I have placed first following the second and being introduced by the words : " For the saying had also preceded, that no one. . . ." They are separated here thus to preserve the order that is suggested there and because the significance of the teaching seems to be more clearly shown in this way. Again, " enter unexpectedly " has been put instead of the usual rendering " enter," to show the sense of the passage as I conceive it ; the word is not that used for " enter " in the parallel passages of the Gospels (Matt. xxvi. 41 ; Mark xiv. 38), but has in it the idea of a sudden unanticipated encounter. Notice, further, that the comment which the writer makes definitely connects their failure with their sleep—it prevented them from being ready for temptation when it came.

The importance of all this is clear. It has often been felt as a difficulty that both in the Lord's Prayer and in the story of Gethsemane temptation is spoken of as though it were in itself evil and as if prayer would save us from it. But Jesus Himself was tempted, and Paul and James both regard it as a necessary part of the discipline of life (1 Cor. x. 13 ; James i. 2, 12) ; Christian experience, too, confirms us in the thought that it is through temptation, resisted and overcome, that we rise to higher things. Surely, then, we should not pray to be kept out of temptation, but to be kept through it. And in the passage before us we appear to have Christ's own suggestion of this truth, as though He said : " Be prepared, that you

may go open-eyed and alert into the trial of your faith." Does it not also seem much more likely that Paul and James would write as they did if they had in mind some such saying of the Master? We may well have here, then, a reminiscence that Jesus warned the disciples of the temptation which was coming, encouraged them to feel that trial faced and fought was the path to triumph, and urged them, though unsuccessfully, to pray in preparation for the assault of evil. Moffatt tries to give this impression of the meaning in his translation of these Gospel passages by using the word "slip" for "enter," but without any warrant in the text. The sorrow of Jesus that they slept is, of course, clearly suggested in the Gospels.

6. *But Judas had gone out in secret, hoping to deceive our Lord, and he went to the house where the high-priests and elders were assembled, and he said to them: "What will ye give me, and I will deliver my Lord unto you, when I have opportunity?" And they covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver. And he said to them: "Get ready young men armed because of His disciples."*

This is an extract from a book which purports to include a narrative by the apostles of the events before and after the crucifixion, and may possibly draw on some sound line of tradition. There is a verisimilitude about this extract which helps us to picture the scene; the reference to the disciples reminds us that they were to some extent armed (Luke xxii. 38), and it is highly probable that Judas did anticipate resistance. Further, the mention only of them in this respect suggests that he had sufficiently understood Jesus to know that He would not make a fight for it, which contradicts the idea put forward at times that Judas aimed at forcing Jesus to a bold and effective bid for power.

REFERENCES.

1. *Apostolic Constitutions*, viii. 12 (see A.N. xvii).
2. See Donehoo's *Apocryphal and Legendary Life of Christ*, p. 313 (with one alteration).
3. See *Amherst Papyri*, by G.H., p. 26.
4. The Fayûm Fragment (cp. *H.D.B.*, vol. v., p. 428).
5. (*a*) Tertullian *On Baptism*, 20 (cp. Ropes, 37).
   (*b*) Ibid.
6. Syriac *Didascalia*, 21 (see Mrs. M. D. Gibson's edition, p. 98, shortened).

CHAPTER XXVII

OF THE TRIAL, AND HOW JESUS SUFFERED ON THE CROSS

In this chapter and the next we return to the apocryphal Gospels, though not to those cited at the beginning of this work. Two such books are made use of here, the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, from which §§ 2, 4, 5 and 6 are taken, and the *Gospel of Peter*, which contributes §§ 7 and 9. Into the difficult question of their origin it is not possible to enter at any length. It must suffice to say that there is good reason to suppose both made use of a second-century document no longer extant entitled the *Acts of Pilate*, which claimed to give Pilate's report regarding the trial and death of Jesus. There seems a reasonable possibility that this work drew on some reliable source for certain of its uncanonical elements and that some of these points are preserved for us in the books we are considering. Several other passages from early writings will also be included here, which add vividness to the story, one or two points being brought out clearly which are implicit in the canonical accounts, but require underlining.

1. *And they began to accuse Him, saying: "We found this one perverting the nation, and destroying the law and the prophets, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, and turning away the women and children, saying that He Himself is Christ a king."*

We have here a form of Luke xxiii. 2 found in the Gospel used by Marcion at the beginning of the second century, the second and fourth clauses of the accusation not being found in the accepted text. Some reasons were given in Chapter VIII for thinking that Marcion may have made his Gospel from a very early copy of Luke and retained certain primitive features absent from the usual text; it is possible that this is another such. The passage is not of great importance, but the heaping up of accusations thus certainly helps to give an

impressive picture of the trial scene, and is entirely probable. And we cannot regard either charge as impossible; for, on the first point, much of the teaching of Jesus must have made Him appear as an innovator and an iconoclast, and Matt. v. 17 seems an answer by anticipation to this kind of antagonism; and regarding the second, Luke viii. 2, 3 is quite sufficient ground for thinking that His influence may have already disturbed home-life, as He foretold it would (Matt. x. 35, etc.), and that this should meet with opposition is perfectly natural.

2. *And Pilate, having summoned Jesus, says to Him: "What do these witness against Thee? Sayest Thou nothing?" And Jesus said: "Unless they had the power they would say nothing; for everyone hath the power over his own mouth to speak both good and evil. Let them see to it."*

This insistence on the culpability of the accusers of Christ is interesting. There is a common trend of teaching, occasionally in the Gospels but more frequently in later writings, that the death of Jesus was preordained and necessary; the logical conclusion of this line of thought is that those who brought it about were instruments for the accomplishment of God's purpose—a position actually preached at times. A passage like this, therefore, where the stress is upon freedom and responsibility, is important because it reminds us again that the cross was primarily a crime, a vital truth which—as suggested in earlier chapters—we sometimes strangely neglect.

There is no contradiction here with the statement in the Gospels that Jesus was silent before Pilate, for all mention that at first some conversation did take place (note especially Mark's "*no more* answered," xv. 5). Perhaps we may consider with E. A. Abbott [1] that the silence was due to Pilate's previous refusal of the appeal made to Him through that challenging word regarding truth (John xviii. 33–38); for after avowing the truth ("I find no crime in Him"), he acted against it ("he scourged Him"), and so proved his wilful rejection of the light.

3. *Pilate said to Him: "What is truth?" Jesus said to him: "Have you not seen—you!—that He who speaks to you is truth? Do*

[1] *The Fourfold Gospel*, vol. v, p. 551.

you not see in His face that He has been born of the Father? Do you not hear from His words that He does not come from this world?"

In this extract from a Coptic papyrus fragment we have perhaps no more than a paraphrase of the corresponding passage in John from some early Egyptian homily. But while this reply of Christ's may not therefore be historical, the significance of His silence is admirably expressed in it. If He answered Pilate's query with a serene and penetrating look, was it not as if to say: "Here is truth—and how is it you do not appreciate and acknowledge it?" And certainly it is one of the most surprising facts of history that men are so slow to "see in His face" and "hear from His words" that He alone understands and can explain the true meaning of life.

4. *And the governor, looking upon the people of the Jews standing round, saw very many of the Jews weeping, and said: "All the multitude does not wish Him to die."*

5. *And a certain Jew starting up said: "I was born blind, and He had pity on me, and laid His hands upon my eyes, and I saw immediately." And another starting up said: "I was hunchbacked, and He straightened me with a word."*

The suggestion that the people were not whole-heartedly opposed to Jesus is probably true. We have similar hints in the Gospels; the priests had to "stir up" (Mark xv. 11) and "persuade the multitude" (Matt. xxvii. 20) to ask for the release of Barabbas; a crowd of women followed Jesus to the cross bewailing him (Luke xxiii. 27); and many witnesses of the crucifixion returned to Jerusalem "smiting their breasts" (Luke xxiii. 48). We may have, then, in § 4 a realistic glimpse of the trial, and one which reminds us that there were conflicting elements amongst the Jews at that time. It is an inadequate reading of the story to say, as has often been said, that the fickle crowd cried "Hosanna" one day and "Crucify him" the next. There was a minority who loathed the black deed. In § 5 I have much abbreviated a long narrative which tells of the testimony borne to Christ's good deeds by many who had been healed. However inaccurate in details, it may represent a true tradition that evidence on behalf of Jesus was sought by Pilate and that some witnesses did speak in His

favour. This is the view advanced by Professor R. W. Husband, who thinks the story " contains something that was current in the church, and in its main outlines may be accepted as trustworthy." [1] We may notice, too, that Rendel Harris has shown that the word rendered here " starting up " is a regular word to describe the coming forward of a witness.[2] Regarding the reference to the hunchback, one would like to think of some otherwise forgotten deed of mercy lying in the background.

6. *Others of them cried out: " If thou release Jesus, thou art no friend of Cæsar, because He calls Himself Son of God and king. And if thou free Him, He becomes a king, and will take Cæsar's kingdom." Pilate, therefore, was enraged, and said: " Always has your nation been devilish and unbelieving, and ever have you been adversaries to your benefactors."*

Ellicott's view of this part of the story may be quoted here: " If we strip off the obviously fabulous, it does seem that the writer has related some portions of the trial in a manner so very probable and plausible that we may well pause before we sweep away the whole as a mere party fiction. There is something very natural in the way in which the Jews heap up indiscriminate accusation; there is an eager ferocity on their part, met by a steady and almost indignant scorn on the part of the governor, that seems, at any rate, very happily depicted." [3] It cannot be thought impossible that after several years in Judæa Pilate should have the slight knowledge of Hebrew history implied in the closing sentence of this extract, especially in view of the tradition that his wife was a proselyte. We need not suppose he elaborated his reference in the way suggested by the rest of the passage, which I have omitted, but a taunt of this sort seems not unlikely. The words certainly sum up concisely and forcefully the truth that Jesus declared in Matt. xxiii. 29–35 and in the parable of the Husbandmen, and which Stephen developed and pressed home in his defence (see Acts vii. 51, 52 especially).

[1] *The Prosecution of Jesus*, p. 261.
[2] *The Homeric Centones and the Acts of Pilate*, p. 44.
[3] *Cambridge Essays* (1856), p. 205.

7. And Herod delivered Him to the people on the day before the unleavened bread, their feast. And they took the Lord and pushed Him as they ran, and said: "Let us drag away the Son of God, having obtained power over Him." And they clothed Him with purple, and set Him on the seat of judgment, saying: "Judge righteously, O King of Israel." And one of them brought a crown of thorns and put it on the head of the Lord. And others stood and spat in His eyes, and others smote His cheeks; others pricked Him with a reed; and some scourged Him, saying: "With this honour let us honour the Son of God."

There are several items of interest in this passage. It develops the hint of Luke xxiii. 8–11 that Herod had a share in the trial, but assigns him a more important part in the proceedings. It agrees with John against the Synoptics at two points; it is "the people" and not merely the soldiers who lay hands on Jesus (John xix. 16); again, the crucifixion is said to have taken place before the Passover, so that the Last Supper was not actually the Paschal meal.[1] The statement that Jesus was placed mockingly on the judgment seat occurs also in Justin,[2] and it seems probable that John xix. 13 is somehow responsible for both passages. The word there rendered "sat down" might quite grammatically be transitive, in which case "set Him on the judgment seat" would be the correct translation. It is perfectly possible, then, that we have here a somewhat embellished version of an actual event recorded by John but commonly misunderstood. Other smaller touches which give vividness to the narrative are—the hustling of Jesus, the spitting "in His eyes," the "pricking" with the reed, and the fact that the thorn-crown was the nasty thought and brutal work of a single individual. These may be imaginative additions to the story, but they certainly tend to bring the tragic scene before our eyes very much as it must have happened.

8. When He was being led to the cross by those who knew Him not, He prayed the Father for His murderers, and said: "Father, forgive their sin, for they know not what they do."

[1] This is almost certainly correct. See Plummer's "Comm. on John" in the *Cambridge Greek Testament*, Appendix A, and Sanday in *H.D.B.*, vol. ii, p. 634.

[2] *Apology*, i. 35.

This statement regarding the circumstances in which Jesus offered His great intercession for His foes seems to me of considerable importance. As is well known, several ancient MSS. omit this prayer at Luke xxiii. 34, and their witness is usually held to be very weighty and, in fact, practically conclusive. The words are bracketed by Westcott and Hort in their edition of the Greek New Testament and in *The Twentieth-Century New Testament* (a translation made from their text), while the margin of the R.V. calls attention to the flaw in the evidence. The result is that many folks are greatly puzzled, not to say alarmed, by the apparent uncertainty regarding a most treasured possession. Now, we should remember, first of all, the point to which notice has already been directed in the Introduction, that though Westcott and Hort regard the saying as not in the original version of Luke, they yet consider it a genuine utterance of Christ's, interpolated into that Gospel from some unknown but reliable source. But it seems to me that the passage now before us helps considerably to explain the situation. For unless it is merely a very odd case of faulty quotation, it means that there was a well-established tradition that Jesus prayed thus at the time of the crucifixion, but also a measure of doubt as to exactly at what point. This would be quite sufficient to account for the omission of the words from some MSS. If, further, the evangelist himself issued two separate editions of his book—as has often been thought—it would be easy to understand the absence of the saying from one edition; he may have regarded the fact as established but the exact occasion uncertain. We should recall also the passages quoted on p. 158, which tell of Jesus praying somewhat thus without stating any occasion at all.

9. *And they brought two malefactors, and they crucified the Lord between them. But He held His peace as though having no pain. And when they had raised the cross, they wrote the title, "This is the king of Israel."*

We are perhaps in touch with Docetic teaching here—the strange heresy which in many forms prevailed so widely in the early days of Christianity that our Lord suffered in appearance only, either because His body was a phantom or because the

Christ descended upon the man Jesus at the baptism and deserted Him again before He encountered the pains of death. Such beliefs evidently had a great fascination for many who were sincerely anxious to emphasise the divinity of Christ, though it is difficult for us to see how they could be regarded as satisfactory. The statement here, "as though having no pain," is commonly cited as an instance of this Docetism, and it may, of course, be merely this. But it may perhaps be a witness to His fortitude and firmness of will, and read thus it reminds us of the high courage with which He faced the agony of the world's refusal. The last sentence suggests—probably correctly, that He was fixed to the cross before it was raised into position—a point which helps us to realise vividly what took place and so surely to appreciate better the awful meaning of the event.

10. *When He was crucified, they did shoot out the lip, and wagged their heads, saying: "Let Him who raised the dead save Himself."*

The connection between Ps. xxii and the events of the crucifixion is familiar ground (see Mark xv. 24, 29, 34), and this reference to "the contemptuous face-pulling of the by-standers" may be simply an imaginative embellishment to suggest a further fulfilment of the Psalm (see verse 7). The gibe about raising the dead seems, however, to be of rather a different kind, for there is nothing in the Psalm to suggest it; it is at the same time extremely probable, for the most extraordinary of the rumoured happenings would naturally be singled out for mocking.

11. *And all those which were assembled there and saw that which was done were smiting upon their breasts and saying: "Woe to us! what is this? Woe unto us from our sins!"*

This expansion of Luke xxiii. 48 is found in several ancient MSS. It does not seem improbable that Luke preserves a true point in the story which Matthew and Mark missed—that some of Christ's secret disciples (Mark xiv. 14, xv. 43) or sympathisers (xii. 37, xiv. 2) showed emotion at what was taking place and were convinced that it was an ominous sign

of the times; if so, this passage may either incorporate additional witness to the same fact or be merely a picturesque amplification of Luke's words. "All" is, of course, exaggeration. It is worth while remembering that the city which crucified Christ did actually meet with disaster not many years later, and the people who rejected Him were dispersed to an exile from which there has been no return. We cannot, of course, think of this event as God's deliberately wrought vengeance, but we are bound to see in it the working out to its fitting conclusion of the sin that murdered Jesus. And it is entirely in harmony with probability that He foresaw this climax and forewarned them whither their wickedness would lead (Luke xix. 43, xxi. 24, xxiii. 28). There is in the very constitution of things a necessity that those who sow the wind reap the whirlwind (Hos. viii. 7).

12. *The lintel of the Temple, of infinite size, was broken and splintered.*

Jerome twice says that a statement to this effect occurred in the Hebrew Gospel in place of the story about the rending of the veil. Now, apart from certain linguistic points which cannot be dealt with here, there are difficulties about the canonical story which would be removed if we could think the Hebrew Gospel preserved the earlier form of the tradition. (1) It is surely a much less likely occurrence than the cracking of a large stone during an earthquake shock (Matt. xxvii. 51), and without any denial of miracle, properly understood, one is rightly inclined to think the more natural of two accounts the more original. The tendency of early writers was all towards increasing the marvellous; if the Hebrew Gospel is here the later it is a remarkable and exceptional example of the opposite process. Findlay strangely takes the opposite view and assumes that the canonical narrative has here been changed, possibly "to heighten the effect."[1] (2) Again, it is extremely difficult to understand the omission of any reference to the story in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Swete says "the mystical import of the rent veil is pointed out in Heb. x. 19 f.,"[2] and, of course, the two passages are always read together, but there is no genuine reference, and the R.V. margin makes no link;

[1] P. 75. [2] *Commentary on Mark*, p. 388.

the argument in Hebrews would, indeed, be equally valid without any historical event of this sort. Similarly, Clement of Alexandria makes no mention of the incident, though he deals at length with the symbolic meaning of the " veil " in the Tabernacle. (3) Lastly, if the rending is thought of as a deliberate act of God, surely we get a very strange conception of Him and His ways, utterly unlike the refusal by Jesus to give a " sign " (Mark viii. 12), the cry of the wounded mother-heart (Matt. xxiii. 37), or the prayer from the cross. For a variety of reasons, then, we may consider it possible, though not certain, that the canonical story is here of secondary authority. That an earthquake should synchronise more or less with the crucifixion would not be a very remarkable coincidence in a land so frequently disturbed by them.

REFERENCES.

1. See Hamlyn Hill's *The Gospel of the Lord*, p. 55.
2. *Gospel of Nicodemus*, 2 (see A.N. xvi, p. 129).
3. See Moffatt in *Dictionary of Apostolic Church*, vol. i, p. 506.
4. *Gospel of Nicodemus*, 4 (see A.N. xvi, p. 183).
5. Ibid., 6 (p. 184, shortened).
6. Ibid., 9 (p. 156).
7. *Gospel of Peter* (see J. A. Robinson's translation in *H.D.B.*, vol. v, p. 426).
8. *Clementine Recognitions*, vi. 5 (see A.N. iii).
9. *Gospel of Peter* (see § 7).
10. Justin, *Apology*, i. 38 (see A.N. ii).
11. Curetonian Syriac MS. (see Nicholson, p. 160).
12. Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew*, at xxvii. 51 (see Nicholson, p. 62).

CHAPTER XXVIII

OF WHAT HAPPENED AFTER HIS DEATH

ALL the passages collected in this chapter are from the two apocryphal books quoted in the last, the *Gospel of Nicodemus* and the *Gospel of Peter*. They deal with that but little studied period of the story of Jesus, the time between the crucifixion and the resurrection. For emotional intensity and dramatic suggestion this interval seems to me of exceptional interest. Regarding one point in it, the act of Joseph and Nicodemus, J. A. Robertson says : " We know of few more extraordinary, more moving, scenes in history." [1]

1. *The centurion reported what had happened to the procurator. And when the procurator and his wife heard it, they were exceedingly grieved, and neither ate nor drank that day.*

This obviously connects with the story in Matt. xxvii. 19 of Pilate's wife and her dream ; if that is true, there is no reason why this should not be so, for the same source of information might clearly yield both facts. It is perfectly credible, for to play the part that Pilate did, facing the challenge of truth and flinching at the test, might well unnerve the strongest of men ; and it is more probable still if it is true, not only that his wife was a proselyte to Judaism, but that she afterwards became a Christian, which would, of course, account for the record of her dream and of this fast being handed down. If these traditions are sound, this incident seems worth retaining because it gives a realistic picture of those terrible days and because it is an example of the agitation of soul produced amongst those who did not yield allegiance to the truth that claimed them when they met Jesus.

2. *Pilate, therefore, seeing Joseph thus lying, and supplicating, and weeping, raised him up, and said : " Go, I grant thee this dead man ; take Him, and do whatever thou wilt."*

[1] *The Hidden Romance of the New Testament*, p. 16.

3. *When the Jews were made acquainted with these things done by Joseph and Nicodemus, they were greatly stirred up against them. And the chief priests, Annas and Caiaphas, sent for Joseph, and said: "Why hast thou done this service to Jesus?" Joseph says: "I know that Jesus was a man just, and true, and good in all respects; and I know also that you, through hatred, managed to murder Him; and therefore I buried Him." Then the high priests were enraged, and laid hold of Joseph, and threw him into prison.*

These are merely extracts from much longer narratives. There are reasons which make it unlikely that the statement in § 2 is more than a good guess at what took place, but even so it helps us to appreciate the storm and stress through which Joseph must surely have been passing. To take the step that he did at such a time and in such a way proves that he was deeply moved by what had happened. In § 3 we have another of the incidents that Ellicott notices with interest and thinks possibly well founded.[1] Certainly it is much more likely than not that Joseph's action would bring him trouble; he was showing sympathy with an apparently ruined cause, which usually involves the risk of persecution. The story is worth retaining, then, because it recalls the high quality of his deed and so the transforming power of Christ, hesitancy turning to heroism under the spell of the cross even without the glory of the resurrection to relieve its gloom and complete its gospel. It reminds us, too, of the inflamed passions of the enemies of Jesus—"they were greatly moved," one version reads—and makes us realise the turmoil and terror of those days.

In the next passage this idea is again before us, but with special reference to the disciples.

4. *Being wounded in mind we hid ourselves; for we were being sought for by them as malefactors, and as wishing to set fire to the Temple. And upon all these things we fasted and sat mourning and weeping night and day until the Sabbath.*

While there are no grounds for thinking this actually an apostolic narrative, as it professes to be, it does give a significant picture of those dark hours, whether drawn in any measure from some reliable source or merely the result of skilful imagination. The closest canonical parallel is John

[1] See above, p. 183.

xx. 19. The tempest of feelings through which they must have passed is well suggested by a variety of expressions, and we are helped to visualise their sad and secret fellowship during their few orphan days. Grief, disappointment, fear, self-reproach, horror, anguish, the sense of irreparable loss and of hopelessness for the future—these violent emotions must have lashed their souls into utter misery and plunged them in the abyss of despair. To realise this is to gain the right background for a dramatic appreciation of the resurrection. But it is a consideration which has received but scant attention in *Lives of Christ,* and I can recall but one instance of a painter depicting at all worthily the extraordinary and pathetic scenes which must have taken place in the background. I refer to Paul Delaroche, whose four pictures dealing with those awful days are reproduced in A. G. Temple's *Sacred Art;* they are entitled, "Good Friday," "The Return from Golgotha," "The Night of the Crucifixion" and "The Mother of our Lord," and all suggest in striking manner the desolation and deep woe through which she and the rest must have been passing. This passage may therefore serve to remind us of a neglected page in the story of the beginnings of Christianity.

5. *But the scribes and Pharisees and elders being gathered together one with another, when they heard that all the people murmured, and beat their breasts, saying: "If by His death these most mighty signs have come to pass, see how righteous He is," the elders were afraid, and came to Pilate, beseeching him and saying: "Give us soldiers that we may guard His sepulchre for three days, lest His disciples come and steal Him away, and the people suppose that He is risen from the dead and do us evil."*

The suggestion that the people were deeply concerned at what had happened is probably correct, though it may merely be elaborated from slight hints in the Gospels (Luke xxiii. 27, 48). We have already met this in the last chapter and need not develop the thought here, but I would just point out the new fact mentioned now—that the rulers were disturbed at what people were saying and afraid of what might result. We know from the Gospels that they were sensitive to public feeling and fearful of disfavour (Matt. xxi. 26, 46; Mark xi. 32), and the early chapters of Acts also reveal their conscious-

ness of peril from that quarter (iv. 2, 17, v. 17, 33). We may notice, too, that this change in the attitude of the populace and the elders' consequent fear are given as the reason for their approach to Pilate with the request that the tomb should be specially guarded. This conference is recorded in Matt. xxvii. 62–66, but without any suggestion of the people's disaffection; it does not seem, therefore, to connect so naturally with the main story. This statement, then, like the other paragraphs of this chapter, makes real to us the ferment caused by the cross—typical of the restlessness of all who reject Christ—and at the same time helps us to follow the probable march of events.

REFERENCES.

1. *Gospel of Nicodemus*, 11 (see A.N. xvi, p. 136).
2. Ibid., p. 162.
3. Ibid., p. 163.
4. *Gospel of Peter* (see *H.D.B.*, vol. v, p. 427).
5. Ibid.

CHAPTER XXIX

OF THE WOMEN AT THE TOMB AND THE APPEARANCE OF JESUS TO JAMES AND TO HIS DISCIPLES

I HAVE divided the passages which refer to the resurrection into two groups, those in this chapter relating something of the main story, those in the next dealing with the commission to "preach the gospel to every creature." The five gathered here are all interesting and suggestive in themselves; together they may serve to remind us of the strength of the early testimony to the fact of the empty tomb.

1. *And at dawn upon the Lord's Day Mary Magdalene, a disciple of the Lord, who, fearing because of the Jews, since they were burning with wrath, had not done at the Lord's sepulchre the things which women are wont to do for those that die, and for those that are beloved by them—she took her friends with her, and came to the sepulchre where He was laid. And they feared lest the Jews should see them, and they said: "Although on that day on which He was crucified we could not weep and lament, yet now let us do these things at His sepulchre. But who shall roll away for us the stone that was laid at the door of the sepulchre, that we may enter in and sit by Him and do the things that are due? For the stone was great, and we fear lest someone see us. And if we cannot, yet if we but set at the door the things which we bring for a memorial of Him, we will weep and lament until we come unto our home."*

The threefold reference to the women's fear of being seen is interesting; it is represented as the cause of their delay, and perhaps as the reason for their going at early dawn. The Gospels only say they were afraid when they saw the vision in the tomb. It accords well with the passage in the last chapter, where the disciples are pictured in both sorrow and secrecy, and it may—like the statement here that the Jews were "burning with wrath"—in all probability accurately express the situation. Again, the much fuller and more realistic account of the conversation on the way to the sepulchre also seems, at the least, psychologically correct; they speak of their inability to go previously through fear,

their perplexity regarding the great stone, and their intentions if they are unable to carry out their plan, only the second of which points is canonical (Mark xvi. 3). The last sentence seems to mean that they are determined to conquer their timidity and show their grief openly, come what may—a naïve but very natural resolve. The whole paragraph, then, appears to me exceedingly vivid, and very much what one of the women might have remembered and repeated to her friends; it is difficult to think that some of those who were present at scenes in the Gospel story did not narrate more fully incidents there recorded and that sidelights upon it may not have been gleaned by uncanonical writers from quite reliable tradition.

2. *And when the Lord had given His linen cloth to the servant of the priest, He went to James and appeared unto him. For James had sworn that he would not eat bread from that hour wherein the Lord had drunk the cup until he saw Him rising from the dead. "Bring a table and bread," saith the Lord. He took up the bread and blessed and broke and afterward gave to James the Just, and said to him: "My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of Man is risen from them that sleep."*

This story is said to have occurred in the Hebrew Gospel. That Jesus appeared to James is stated by Paul (1 Cor. xv. 7), and Mayor accepts this account of that event as historical, saying: "There is, I think, a ring of genuineness about the narrative . . . an originality and simplicity which is not unworthy of the genuine Gospels themselves."[1] Findlay is of opinion that several points in the story indicate a later date than the Gospels; he refers especially to the statement that this was the first resurrection appearance, which conflicts with the canonical evidence, and to the handing of the shroud to the priest's servant, which looks like a legendary touch.[2] But these may surely be the embellishing additions of a later hand, and yet the story itself be essentially true. It is generally agreed that the James of 1 Cor. xv. 7 and of this passage was the brother of Jesus (Mark vi. 3); the son of Zebedee was killed many years before Paul wrote (Acts xii. 2), and the son of Alphæus (Mark iii. 18) is not mentioned elsewhere than in

[1] *Epistle of James*, p. xxxvii (1st edit.). [2] P. 75.

the lists of the Twelve and is always distinguished by his father's name, whereas "the Lord's brother" (Gal. i. 19, ii. 9; Acts xv. 13) had evidently obtained a position of eminence in the Church at Jerusalem. It would be strange for Paul to write thus indefinitely unless he was referring to the prominent individual of this name. Most writers, therefore, make this identification. Assuming it is correct, an interesting story evidently lies in the background, one of our Lord's critics (Mark iii. 21, 31) becoming, as in the case of Paul, one of the leading Christians of the day. If, as Lightfoot thinks, the appearance of the Risen Christ was vouchsafed to him to win him over from his unbelief, we have the explanation why he is not mentioned amongst the followers of Jesus until after this (Acts i. 14).[1]

There are several other expressions here that ought to be noticed. "Blessed" implies "God" as its object; the A.V. in similar passages wrongly inserts "it" (Matt. xxvi. 26; Luke xxiv. 30). "The Just" is a title occurring several times in the New Testament, though not of James (Acts i. 23; Col. iv. 11), and probably implies "a punctilious observer of the ceremonial law," a strong section of the Church in Jerusalem being inclined that way (Acts xxi. 18 f.). As regards the closing words, death is frequently spoken of under the figure of "sleep" in the New Testament (Matt. xxvii. 52; John xi. 11; Acts vii. 60; 1 Thess. iv. 14); from the Greek word involved we get our "cemetery." The illustration does not necessarily imply even a temporary cessation of consciousness, for as we may be asleep to spiritual truth, though very much awake to material things (1 Thess. v. 6), so it is very possible that "the eyes which are closed to this world look newly-opened upon heaven."

3. *And when He came to Peter and those about him, He said to them: "Take, feel Me, and see that I am not a bodiless devil." And straightway they touched Him and believed.*

Jerome implies that this was not an unrecorded appearance of the Risen Christ, but just an alternative account of that

[1] J. A. Robertson gathers these various hints and probabilities together with imagination and insight in *The Hidden Romance of the New Testament*, ch. x.

told in Luke xxiv. 36–39. There is at least one point, however, in which they seem independent, unless Luke's is the later. He has " spirit " instead of " bodiless devil," and the latter is surely the more difficult expression which it would be quite in Luke's manner to soften down. Regarding this rather odd phrase we may observe that most translators have rendered it " bodiless spirit," which is " doubtless more elegant, but entirely opposed to the usage of the New Testament and Christian writers." [1] To do so is to lose the point of the remark; the disciples were frightened because they thought it was an appearance boding *evil*.

4. *They excused themselves to Him, saying: " This age of iniquity and unbelief is under the power of Satan, who by means of unclean spirits permitteth not the true power of God to be perceived. For that reason, reveal now Thy righteousness."*

5. *Christ answered them: " The limit of years for Satan's power has now expired, but other terrors are at hand. I was delivered to death on behalf of sinners, that they might return to the truth and sin no more, that they might inherit that glory of righteousness which is spiritual and imperishable in heaven."*

This interesting conversation is found after Mark xvi. 14 in the famous Washington MS. of the Gospels, bought a few years ago in Cairo by Mr. C. L. Freer, of Detroit. I have divided it thus, because the first part had been known previously from a patristic reference in a slightly different but clearer form which I follow. Moffatt includes the whole passage in his translation, and thinks that it was cut out at an early date for some unknown reason. Swete also considers that everything points to excision, not interpolation, and that without it the transition in Mark xvi. is " awkward and bald." [2] Certainly when we read verse 14 as the opening words of the recovered passage the way is paved quite naturally for the missionary injunction that follows.

In endeavouring to estimate the age and credibility of the passage it must be remembered that the whole of this paragraph, Mark xvi. 9–20, is generally regarded as an epilogue or appendix and not as the original ending of the Gospel. It

[1] Nicholson, p. 74.

[2] *Two New Gospel Fragments*, p. 10.

does not appear in the two oldest MSS., which are commonly thought the best, and it is usually considered now-a-days to be either a late first-century or an early second-century attempt to complete the Gospel from which in some unexplained way the conclusion had been lost. It may, perhaps, just be observed in this connection that the Greek renders it quite certain that Mark did not originally end at verse 8, for the break there occurs in the middle of a sentence. Moffatt makes this clear thus: "for they were afraid of——." There have at times been careless references to this matter, which might mislead some to think that the original writing ended at that point and contained no story of the resurrection. All the evidence and probabilities are alike against this.

The original ending must have been lost very early indeed, since all the many copies we possess derive ultimately from one common ancestor which once held the field, so to speak, and which did not contain it; it is not at all impossible that this was the autograph itself (i.e. the author's own copy) which had somehow been mutilated before being copied. But this suggests also a very early date for the appendix; since very few copies do not contain it, it must have been added very soon after the original ending was lost.

The statement in § 4 that the disciples defended themselves against Christ's upbraiding is just the kind of naïve realistic touch which also points to an early origin and an authentic source. Like Peter's rebuke of Jesus at Cæsarea and many other Gospel details, it is very difficult to think of it being invented. The idea that evil spirits were constantly at work in the world as emissaries of a Satanic majesty was not uncommon; it is, however, quite a novelty, and one that may reflect truth, to find the disciples sheltering behind it and shirking the responsibility for their own lack of faith. This suggests one possible reason for the excision of this passage —the desire to remove the disciples' self-excuse. May not another be found in these words of Christ's? It might well appear to some copyists that the power of Satan was still so great that some error must have crept into their Master's words.

As regards His answer, it is not clear that He was here

making any statement of belief about the reality of Satan as a personal spirit of evil; it is perfectly reasonable to think that in speaking to them He used their own vocabulary, and just meant that they were no longer to live in the grip of evil. The tyranny of fear and faithlessness under which they had been living, and all other terrors that might attack them, were all now to be conquered, not only in their experience, but everywhere. This was the will of God; His own death was the proof of the message. That the will of God in this respect is even yet so little done and the message so unheeded does not mean that He has failed; the world has failed to respond, and the prolonged refusal ever increases the wonder of the long-suffering love that still waits and hopes and seeks.

Notice that "imperishable" is Moffatt's happy rendering of the word translated "incorruptible" in 1 Cor. ix. 25, xv. 52; 1 Peter i. 4. These passages (the last especially) almost seem to suggest that Jesus made use of such an expression, but there is no instance of it in the Gospels. If He did so speak, the significance of these apostolic references is clearly increased.

REFERENCES.

1. *Gospel of Peter* (see *H.D.B.*, vol. v, p. 427).
2. Jerome, *Concerning Illustrious Men*, 2 (cp. Nicholson, p. 62)
3. Ignatius, *Epistle to the Smyrneans*, 3 (see Nicholson, p. 68).
4. Jerome, *Against the Pelagians*, ii. 15 (see Pick, p. 86).
5. See Moffatt's *New Testament*, loc. cit.

CHAPTER XXX

OF THE WORLD-WIDE MISSION UPON WHICH HE SENT THEM

THIS closing chapter carries forward our vision to the ends of the earth. That Jesus commissioned and prepared His followers for a holy enterprise that was to be universal in scope seems certain. It is true that Matt. xxviii. 19, 20 has sometimes been under suspicion on account of the trinitarian formula; this certainly has a late tone about it and may be an insertion, but that does not mean that the passage itself is not genuine. It should be remembered that Luke xxiv. 47 is quite as emphatic testimony as the Matthew passage and just as well authenticated as the parable of the Prodigal. Further, other passages in the Gospels speak of this world-wide proclamation (Mark xiv. 9; Matt. xxiv. 14, etc.), while it is essentially implicit in the prayer that is at the heart of our faith. We should, therefore, quite anticipate some uncanonical references. There are not many, and but few actual words in them that we can ascribe to Jesus. But several included here represent definitely and forcibly the mind of the Early Church upon the matter, and we are thus helped to remember the amazing missionary activity of the first Christians, which is itself the clearest possible proof of the place this truth had in the teaching of Jesus.

1. *And after that Jesus Himself sent out by means of them from east to west the sacred and imperishable message of eternal salvation.*

In the last chapter reference was made to the fact that the original ending of Mark's Gospel had been lost and that the two oldest MSS. stop at verse 8, the closing paragraph in most MSS. and in the English versions (xvi. 9–20) being a later appendix by an unknown writer. A short alternative appendix is found in a few MSS., and § 1 is the closing part of it. As

it is hardly likely to have been written after the longer ending had won its place, and since there is good ground—as we have seen—for thinking the latter is of quite early date, it seems certain that this also must be thought of as a primitive attempt to complete a work which had unhappily suffered injury. But the question of date is entirely secondary in this instance; I simply include the passage as a concise and suggestive statement of what we know took place, a happily expressed reminder of the world embassy upon which Jesus sent His followers. The word "imperishable" has already been before us, but here the thought is not that the glorious heritage in heaven is unending, but that the proclamation upon earth will endure through all corruption and be undefeated in spite of all attacks. Certainly the persistency of the Gospel through every variety of tribulation and opposition is a remarkable fact of history. Voltaire was neither the first nor the last to predict the rapid disappearance of Christianity, but there is an unconquered and unconquerable vitality in the story of Jesus and in His words of life.

2. "*If then anyone of Israel wishes to repent and believe through My name in God, his sins shall be forgiven him. After twelve years go forth into the world, lest anyone say, We did not hear.*"

The suggestion that it was the Master's will the Jews should turn from their sin of refusal and find forgiveness is of interest; it is the counterpart and complement of the prayer on the cross (Luke xxiii. 34). As regards the postponement of the wider preaching, the apostles do not appear to have gone far afield for some such time as that mentioned here, and it is possible the tradition that Jesus spoke thus was well founded. There is one way in which such a delay seems to harmonise with our conception of the divine will. There are hints in the New Testament of what we may call the strategy of God. Jesus felt that Tyre and Sidon would have repented had He devoted himself to them (Matt. xi. 21), yet He did not do so, presumably because it was not mere numbers that He wanted, but ambassadors for His world mission, and the Jews alone by their age-long tradition and training were qualified

for that task. Again, Paul's evangelic soul gazed eagerly towards Ephesus and the other cities of Asia, with their teeming life, and he must have been greatly astonished when that strange prohibition was whispered within him (Acts xvi. 6) and he was led by a wide circuit into Greece ; but probably the remarkable success in later years at and around Ephesus (Acts xix. 10) could not have been gained earlier ; there is always a fitting moment and a right method of approach in God's wise tactics. So here the national rejection of God's Kingdom by the Jews made it necessary that as large and effective a remnant as possible should be gathered for the missionary enterprise that was to establish His loving dominion throughout the world ; concentration upon Palestine was, therefore, essential. And it had this further value, that Israel assembled yearly at Jerusalem from the four corners of the earth (Acts ii. 9–11), and a strong Church there meant world-wide propaganda. It was doubtless thus that Rome received the Gospel long before Paul reached there (Rom. i. 8–15). We may notice, too, that such concentrated effort to begin with has warrant in the canonical words of Jesus (Luke xxiv. 47 ; Acts i. 8).

3. "*I chose you twelve disciples, having judged you worthy of Me (those whom the Lord wished), and having accounted you to be faithful apostles, sending you into the world to preach, that the men on the earth should know that God is one ; and through faith in Me to show what is to be, in order that they who hear and believe may be saved ; but those who believe not, having heard, may bear witness, having no excuse for saying, We did not hear.*"

This passage, like the last, is from a lost book, the *Preaching of Peter*. It describes in quite a useful manner the desire of Christ that the whole world should be evangelised. The recurrence of the closing words—which surely have a peculiar pathos in them—gives a striking hint of the depth of His longing for men's salvation. That after so long so many myriads still pass over and are able when they meet Him to say " We did not hear " is a matter of awful reproach to the Church. Whatever the origin of this and the last passage, they surely indicate at least the strength of the missionary

zeal of the Early Church, and show clearly the secret of its rapid growth. And that later generations have not carried out that good beginning to a triumphant conclusion long before this is not due to any necessity for a slow evolution nor to any withdrawal of God's initiative and inspiration, but solely to the lack of that faith and that faithfulness which are mentioned here, for without them God cannot do what He desires to do in and through us. The increase of missionary interest in the last century is a matter for thankfulness, but let us not forget the longsuffering love of God that has " borne with us all this while " and the vast uncaptured realms still waiting for the " sacred and imperishable message of eternal salvation."

4. *When He said to the apostles as He went up to heaven from the Mount of Olives and commanded them to disperse themselves in all the world and preach about the Kingdom of heaven and repentance in His name, the Christ said to them : " I send you this day as sheep amongst wolves, but tarry ye in the holy house until ye are clothed with power from heaven. I go to where I was, and I will send you the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, the Righteous One, whom men cannot look on, Him who will bring Me to your remembrance and everything of which I have spoken to you. He will speak in your mouths, and ye shall be led before kings of the earth and rulers. Be not at all troubled about what ye shall speak, for the Spirit whom I shall send unto you, He shall speak in your mouths."*

There are several interesting points about this alternative account of the ascension. Rendel Harris thinks the expression " tarry in the holy house " may be more primitive than the Lucan equivalents " tarry in the city of Jerusalem " (Luke xxiv. 49), and " not depart from Jerusalem " (Acts i. 4).[1] The only reference to the Mount of Olives in the canonical stories is *after* the event (Acts i. 12) ; the phrase " Kingdom of heaven " does not occur there of the apostles' preaching, and most of the instruction here comes much earlier in the Gospels. The description of the Paraclete as " the Righteous One " is unique, and the statement of Christ's pre-existence is remarkable—" I go to where I was." Altogether, then, the passage is a strange re-setting of familiar Gospel matter mingled with new and striking elements. If, as is quite possible, it is an early variant reminiscence of these things it is extremely valuable.

[1] *Testimonies*, pt. i, p. 48.

5. *" Rejoice and be glad and add joy above your joy, for the times are fulfilled that I may put on My garment which is prepared for Me from the beginning. . . . Rejoice and be glad, for you are blessed above all men on earth, because it is you who shall save the whole world."*

This is from a weird Gnostic work which consists of long post-resurrection conversations between Jesus and His friends, in the course of which the philosophy of æons and spheres is expounded. It is not usually held that it contains any historical nucleus at all, though many passages from the New Testament are included, but there is a slight possibility that for the sake of verisimilitude the writer incorporated in his opening paragraphs some known utterances of Jesus. It is probably better, however, to rule out the idea of there being anything authentic here, historically speaking, and to regard them simply as happily phrased statements regarding the two-fold joy that should be the possession of every Christian—the joy of believing in the risen and exalted Christ, and the joy of sharing in the toil that shall win the world for Him.

6. *He sent forth His disciples into the whole world in order that with His divine and wonderful illumination, signs also following, they might teach wisdom to all peoples, and their preaching unto this day blossoms and bears fruit, and calls the whole earth to the light.*

Our last passage is an impressive statement regarding the task of the apostles, the way in which it was carried out, and its significance for us to-day. Several points may be specially noticed. The reference to Mark xvi. 17, 20 is of interest, and may serve to remind us that where these promised " signs " do not appear the reason is not improbably our failure to satisfy the implied and inevitable conditions. The link between " illumination " and " light " should also be observed ; it is only as we closely follow the guidance of the light within that we can really enlighten others. The emphasis upon the universality of the work (there are three references here) harmonises well with the other passages of this chapter, and makes this a fitting conclusion to our study. It is the will of God " that all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth " (1 Tim. ii. 4), and each time we pray " Thy will be done " we ought to be identifying ourselves anew with this

sacred hope and pledging ourselves afresh to share with zest and zeal in this splendid embassy.

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1. Codex Regius (see Moffatt's *New Testament*, loc. cit.).
2. Clement (Alex.), *Miscellanies*, vi. 5 (see Ropes, 35).
3. Ibid., vi. 6 (see Ropes, 34).
4. *On the Triune Nature of God* (see Mrs. M. D. Gibson's edition, p. 13, including footnote).
5. *Pistis Sophia* (see Pick, p. 107).
6. *Apology of Aristides* (cp. *Texts and Studies*, vol. i, p. 29).

INDICES

AMONGST the several possible forms an index to such a work as this might take, the most profitable seems to be that of a table of Gospel parallels; by the help of this readers can quickly see where the "unwritten" Gospel supplements or is similar to the canonical Gospels, and so may readily find suggestive comment upon the latter. An index of quotations from or references to modern theological writers is added; the indulgence of those who would have preferred a detailed table of all works cited (ancient and modern) is asked.

I. PARALLEL PASSAGES IN THE GOSPELS.

Where similar passages occur in more than one Gospel, the most apt reference is given here. Quoted passages which are not parallels are not indexed.

MATT.

iii 1–9 . . 38
10 . . . 83
13–17 . . 39
iv 8 . . 30, 33
v 14 . . . 167
15 . . . 150
17 . . . 106
19 . . . 111
22 . . 57, 84
23, 24 . . 67
28 . 57, 88, 122
38–48 . 58 f., 69
vi 1–18 83, 99, 148
9–13 63, 67, 100
10 . . . 106
14 . . . 59
19–20 83, 129 f.
22, 23 . . 109
24 . . . 150
24 f. 51 f., 87 f., 134 f.
26 . . . 99
33 . . 47, 68
vii 1 . . . 59
12 . . . 59
13, 14 . . 91
15 . . . 149
16–20 . . 145
19 . . . 83
24, 25 . . 167
26, 27 . 88 f.
viii 11 . . . 97
20 35, 129, 136
21 . . . 102
ix 13 . . . 106
x 10 . . . 52
16–35 . 161 f.
29 . . . 80
xi 16–19 . . 31
21–24 44, 77, 151 f.
28, 29 . . 48
xii 20 . . . 101
34, 35 . . 85
36 . . 62, 84
46–50 . 74, 107
xiii 22 . . 89, 130
44, 45 . . 48
xv 1–20 . 86, 114
xv 8 . . . 149
xvi 18 . . . 167
19 . . 48, 103
xvii 5 . . . 105
26 . . . 96
xviii 3 . . . 54
5 . . . 172
7 . . . 108
20 . 122, 169
21, 22 . . 100
xix 16 f. . . . 124
30 . . . 111
xx 1–16 . . 145
20–23 . . 122
20–28 . . 97
xxi 1–15 . . 141
xxii 2 . . . 97
11–14 . . 174
xxiii 3 . . . 148
13 f. . . . 147
16 117, 150, 153
33–36 . . 150
37 . . 151 f.
xxiv 38 . . . 153
46 . . . 173

xxiv 49 . . . 153
xxv 34 . . . 49
41–46 . . 63
xxvii 19 . . . 189
20 . . . 182
51 . . . 187
57 . . . 190
62–66 . . 192
xxviii 19, 20 168, 173, 199

MARK

i 14, 15 . 42, 118
16 f. . . . 44
35 . . . 66
40–45 . . 75
ii 17 . . 43, 46
iii 1–7 . 73, 76
4 . . . 156
5 . . . 62
iv 9 . . . 155
11 . . . 168
22 . . . 171
vi 3 . . . 32
5, 6 . . 152
17–29 . . 41
49 . . . 131
viii 29 . . . 105
36 . . . 51
ix 19 . . . 153
29 . . 54, 109
33–37 . . 164
34 . . . 64
37 . . . 64
47 . . . 88
x 23 . 126, 130
30 . . . 120
42–45 . 109 f.
46–52 . . 138
xi 15–17 . . 141
xii 1–9 . . 144
7 . . . 107
28–30 . . 83
38 . . . 132
xiii 1, 2 . . 156
32 . . . 104
35–37 . . 165
xiv 7 . . . 170
26–30 . 177 f.
xv 5 . . . 181
8 . . . 122
29 . . . 186
xvi 3 . . . 194
14 . . . 196
17, 20 . . 203

LUKE

i 1–4 . . 11
5–7 . . 27
28–31 . . 27
ii 34–35 . . 27
40–52 . 29 f.
iii 22 . . . 40
iv 18 f. . . 56, 118
24 . . . 152
30 . . . 141
vi 5 . . 15, 72
20 . . . 132
24 . . . 63
27,28 . . 70
vii 25 . . . 132
30 . . . 151
36–50 . . 94
50 . . . 55
viii 5–15 . . 51
ix 50 . . . 70
52–55 . . 85
x 1 . . . 112
7 . . . 52
19 . . . 164
25 . . . 83
30–37 . . 80
xi 1 . . . 99
2 . . . 67
13 . . . 68
37 f. . . . 147
xii 13–21 . . 134
16–21 . . 89
33 . . . 50
42, 43 . . 108
47, 48 . . 147
49 . . . 163
xiii 6–9 . . 145
24 . . . 91
25 . . . 71
26, 27 . . 75
xiv 8–11 . . 97
26 . . 34, 82
xv . . . 69
xvi 1–9 . . 50
10–12 . . 77
19–31 . . 125
23 . 149, 157
xvi 24 . . . 134
xvii 3, 4 . . 100
5 . . . 101
17 . . . 77
20–24 . . 158
21 . . 99, 172
27 . . . 153
xviii 9–14 . . 93
xix 1–10 . . 139
xxi 34 . . . 153
xxii 32 . . . 108
xxiii 2 . . . 180
34 11, 158, 184
48 . 186, 191
xxiv 36–39 . . 196
47 . . . 201
49 . . . 202

JOHN

i 11, 12 . . 154
14 . . . 40
iv 35 . . . 42
vi 15 . . . 30
vii 53 f. . . . 141
viii 12 . 103, 112
31, 32 . . 100
39–47 . . 155
ix 1–3 . . 101
39–41 . . 153
x 7 . . . 103
9 . . . 49
xi 33–38 . . 153
47, 48 . . 140
xii 12–19 . . 141
25 . . 82, 109
44 . . . 107
xiii 17 . . . 111
xiv 2 . . . 135
6 . . . 103
14 . . . 71
16 f. . . . 170
xv 1–8 . . 145
26 . . . 170
xvi 7–13 . . 170
xvii 6 . . . 174
9 f. . 82, 87, 91
xviii 33–38 . . 181
xix 12 f. . . 183 f.
xx 19 . . . 190
xxi 25 . . . 11

II. MODERN THEOLOGICAL WRITERS CITED.

The works tabulated on page 24 and frequently referred to are not included here, nor are works of general literature.

Abbott, E. A., 181
Adeney, W. F., 136
Alford, H., 102, 142

Bacon, B. W., 142
Baring-Gould, S., 125
Barnes, W. E., 70
Boehmer, J., 79 f.
Büchler, A., 114 f.
Bunsen, C. C. J., 18
Burkitt, F. C., 17

Chase, F. H., 71
Conybeare, F. C., 142
Cowper, B. H., 31

Donehoo, J. de Q., 179
Dougall, L., 69
Driver, S. R., 73

Ellicott, C. J., 18, 25, 183, 190

Farrar, F. W., 13, 18, 30, 57, 168
Field, C., 84, 86, 93
Findlay, J. A., 76, 138

Gibson, Mrs. M. D., 71, 78, 104, 142, 159, 179, 204
Glover, T. R., 21, 32

Harnack, A., 40, 169
Harris, J. R., 18, 20, 22, 52, 56, 75, 80, 111, 129 f., 135, 138, 141, 152 183, 202
Hill, J. H., 68, 104, 142
Hofmann, R., 18, 20
Hogg, A. G., 87
Husband, R. W., 183

James, M. R., 18, 19, 142

Lewis, Mrs. A. S., 65, 112, 139
Lias, J. J., 172
Lightfoot, J. B., 122 f.
Lock, W., 63, 109, 121

Mason, A. J., 56, 65
Mayor, J. B., 194
Mead, G. R. S., 37, 142, 173
Menzies, A., 40, 174
Mingana, A., 147, 159
Moffatt, J., 26, 101, 151, 188, 196 f., 204
Morris, R., 71, 137, 167, 175
Moulton, J. H., 19, 20, 169

Plummer, A., 184
Pryke, W. M., 10

Ragg, L. and L., 146
Ramsay, W. M., 32
Rauschenbusch, W., 126, 133
Rhees, R., 41
Robertson, J. A., 189, 195
Robinson, J. A., 137, 188

Sadler, M. F., 102
Sanday, W., 12, 153, 184
Schaff, P., 18
Smith, D., 19, 90
Stanton, V. H., 59
Swete, H. B., 58, 75, 100, 114 f., 155, 187, 196

Thackeray, H. St. J. T., 38

Westcott, B. F., 18, 119
Westcott and Hort, 12, 185

Zwemer, S. M., 20

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